PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

1907–1908

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CONTENTS

OBITUARY NOTICES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF FELLOWS, 1908

Sir W. R. ANSON, Bart., M P.
[3]Mr. EDWARD ARMSTRONG.
The Rt. Hon. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P.
[1]Professor B. BOSANQUET.
[5]Dr. HENRY BRADLEY.
[1]Professor E. G BROWNE.
The Rt. Hon. JAMES BRYCE.
[3]Professor F. C. BURKITT.
Professor J B. BURY.
Mr. S H. BUTCHER, M P.
Professor INGRAM BYWATER.
[4]The Rev. Professor R. H. CHARLES, D.D.
[2]The Rev. Professor T. K. CHEYNE, D D.
[1]The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR COHEN, K.C.
[1]Mr. F. C. CONYBEARE.
[4]Dr. W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B.
The Rev. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, D.D.
[6]The Rt. Hon. Lord CURZON of Kedleston.
Professor T W. RHYS DAVIDS.
Professor A. V. DICEY, K.C.
The Rt. Hon Viscount DILLON.
The Rev. Professor S. R. DRIVER, D.D.
[1]Professor F. Y. EDGEWORTH.
Professor ROBINSON ELLIS.
Dr. A. J. EVANS.
The Rev. Principal A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D.
[1]Professor C. H. FIRTH.
[5]Mr. H A. L. FISHER.
[4]Mr. JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY.
[3]Professor H. S. FOXWELL.
[1]Professor A. CAMPBELL FRASER.
Dr. J. G. FRAZER.
[1]The Rt. Hon. Sir EDWARD FRY.
[1]Dr. F. J. FURNIVALL.
[1]Professor P. GARDNER.
Professor I. GOLLANCZ.
[3]Professor B. P. GRENFELL.
[2]Professor F. J. HAVERFIELD.
Dr THOMAS HODGKIN.
Dr. S. H. HODGSON.
[3]Mr. D. G. HOGARTH.
Professor T. E. HOLLAND, K.C.
Sir COURTENAY ILBERT, K.C.S.I.
[1]Dr. HENRY JACKSON, O M.
[1]Dr. M. R. JAMES.
[2]Professor HENRY JONES.
[1]Dr. F. G. KENYON.
[1]Professor W. P. KER.
[4]Mr. ANDREW LANG.
[1]The Rt. Hon. Lord LINDLEY.
[3]Professor W M LINDSAY.
[1]The Rt Hon. Sir A. LYALL, K.C.B., G.C I.E.
[4]Professor A. A. MACDONELL.
[4]Dr J McTAGGART.
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The Rev Professor J. E B. MAYOR.
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Sir J. A H. MURRAY.
[2]Professor A. S. NAPIER.
[1]Professor J S NICHOLSON.
[3]Professor C. W. C. OMAN.
[2]Professor A. SETH PRINGLE PATTISON.
[2]Dr. JOHN PEILE.
[2]Professor W. M FLINDERS PETRIE
Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart.
[2]Mr. REGINALD L. POOLE.
[5]Professor J. P. POSTGATE.
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Sir W. M. RAMSAY.
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Sir JOHN RHYS.
[2]Professor W. RIDGEWAY.
[1]The Very Rev J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D.
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Professor R. Y. TYRRELL.
[3]Professor PAUL VINOGRADOFF.
Dr. A. W. WARD.
Professor JAMES WARD.
[4]Dr. G. F. WARNER.
[5]Professor J. COOK WILSON.
[3]The Rt. Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D.
[2]Professor JOSEPH WRIGHT.

[1] Elected 1903 [2] Elected 1904. [3] Elected 1905. [4] Elected 1906. [5] Elected 1907. [6] Elected 1908.

CORRESPONDING FELLOWS

[2] Count UGO BALZANI (Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rome).
[5] M. ÉMILE BOUTROUX (Paris).
[5] M. LÉOPOLD DELISLE (Paris)
[2] Professor H. DIELS (Secretary, Royal Prussian Academy, Berlin)
[2] M. le Comte de FRANQUEVILLE (Membre de l'Institut; Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Paris).
[5] Professor BASIL L GILDERSLEEVE (Baltimore).
[2] Professor M. J. de GOEJE (Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam)
[2] Professor I. GOLDHIZER (Hungarian Academy, Budapest).
[2] Professor T. GOMPERZ (Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna).
[5] Professor ADOLPH HARNACK (Berlin).
[2] Professor J. L. HEIBERG (Royal Danish Academy, Copenhagen).
[5] Professor HARALD HØFFDING (Copenhagen).
[5] Mr. JUSTICE HOLMES (U. S. A.)
[5] Professor WILLIAM JAMES (Harvard)
[2] Professor K. KRUMBACHER (Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich).
[2] Professor F. LEO (Secretary, Royal Academy of Sciences, Gottingen).
[5] Professor FREDERICK DE MARTENS (St. Petersburg).
[2] M. PAUL MEYER (Membre de l'Institut; Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris).
[2] M. GEORGES PERROT (Membre de l'Institut; Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris).
[2] M. GEORGES PICOT (Membre de l'Institut; Sec. Per., Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Paris).
[5] Professor KARL EDUARD SACHAU (Berlin).
[2] Professor C. H. SALEMANN (Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg).
[5] Professor ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORF (Berlin).

DECEASED FELLOWS

Dr. EDWARD CAIRD.
Professor E. B COWELL
[3] The Rt Hon. Lord DAVEY.
[3] The Rt. Hon. Lord GOSCHEN.
Sir R. C. JEBB, O.M.
The Rt. Hon. W. E H LECKY, O.M.
Rev. Provost GEORGE SALMON.
Professor F. W. MAITLAND
Mr. D. B. MONRO.
[1] Dr. A. S. MURRAY.
Professor H. F. PELHAM.
Sir LESLIE STEPHEN.
[2] Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B.

[1] Elected 1903. [2] Elected 1904. [3] Elected 1905. [5] Elected 1907.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

1907–8

PRESIDENT:

SIR E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B.

COUNCIL·

[3] SIR W. R ANSON, BART., M.P.
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[5] MR. S. H BUTCHER, M.P.
[3] PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.
[5] PROFESSOR C. H. FIRTH.
[3] PROFESSOR P. GARDNER.
[4] PROFESSOR T. E. HOLLAND, K.C.
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[4] DR. F. G. KENYON.
[5] PROFESSOR W. P. KER.
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[5] SIR H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C B.
[4] DR. G. W. PROTHERO.
[5] THE RT. HON. LORD REAY, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

SECRETARY:

PROFESSOR I. GOLLANCZ.

BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON, W.

[3] Elected 1905. [4] Elected 1906. [5] Elected 1907.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

1908-9

PRESIDENT:

SIR E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B.

COUNCIL:

[5] MR. S H. BUTCHER, M.P.
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[6] PROFESSOR F. J. HAVERFIELD.
[4] PROFESSOR T. E. HOLLAND, K.C
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[4] DR. G. W. PROTHERO.
[5] THE RT. HON. LORD REAY, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
[6] THE VERY REV. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.
[6] PROFESSOR P. VINOGRADOFF.
[6] DR. A. W. WARD.

SECRETARY:

PROFESSOR I. GOLLANCZ.

BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON, W.

[4] Elected 1906. [5] Elected 1907. [6] Elected 1908.

FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

June 11, 1907

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, LORD REAY

ON the occasion of this our Annual General Assembly, it is in the first place my sad duty to name those whom we have lost during the past year: it is a heavy list of those who cannot answer to our Muster Roll—Maitland, Goschen, Davey, Pelham: these are grievous losses for the Academy, and more so when we think of the others whom we miss from our ranks—Cowell, Lecky, Salmon, A. S. Murray, Leslie Stephen, Monro, and Jebb! Their various services to the British Academy, directly and indirectly, must never be forgotten by those appointed to carry on their work in advancing the causes for which our Academy has been founded. In place of the four Fellows whom death has taken from us, to-day, no doubt, four scholars will be elected to take their place, so that our number will not be lessened: may they prove zealous recruits!

Dealing first of all with the internal affairs of the Academy, I would note that important Papers have been read, and have for the most part been issued in Brochure form according to the excellent practice we have established, and judging by the Balance Sheet we may feel somewhat gratified at the interest taken in these Brochures by those outside the Academy. Volume II, containing the Papers for 1906, is ready, and will shortly be issued. A copy is placed on the table. Papers have been read by Mr. Hogarth on 'Artemis Ephesia'; by Professor Silvanus Thompson on 'Petrus Pereginus di Maricourt'; by Professor Souter on 'The Commentary of Pelagius concerning the Epistle of St. Paul'; Professor Vinogradoff on 'Knight's Fees'; Professor Ridgeway on 'Who were the Romans'; the Dean of Westminster on 'An Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler'; and Signor Boni on 'Trajan's Column'. Considering the range of the subjects and the importance of the Papers, I venture to think we have done well in the matter of communications during the past Session, though I desire to express the hope that Fellows of the Academy will come forward more readily with contributions in the years to come than during the past year. I would especially remind the more

recently elected Fellows of their duty in this respect. But important as may be the reading of Papers, there is more ambitious work to be undertaken by the Academy, and it is with considerable gratification that a forward step will to-day be taken in respect of a great national undertaking to be launched by the British Academy by its own unaided efforts, efforts which I sincerely trust will later on be supplemented by such Treasury help as we may reasonably expect. I refer to the proposed Series of Records of Social and Economic History, submitted to the Academy by Professor Vinogradoff, a project very dear to our lamented colleague, Maitland, and a very fitting monument to his memory, if, as I hope, the British Academy will rightly raise some memorial to him as one of our original Members. I, for my part, would like to see some due memorial to each of those who have been our fellow-workers.

The details of the Series of the Social and Economic Records, more especially with reference to Volume I, will be placed before you this afternoon. Similarly, it is proposed to give a small grant to help the preparation of a report on Venetic and Ligurian Inscriptions to be submitted to the Academy by Professor R. S. Conway, whose important observations on the linguistic aspects of Professor Ridgeway's Paper on 'Who were the Romans' have attracted considerable attention among philologists, and whose work on the Italic Dialects is well known.

As regards our financial condition, I am glad to be able to feel more satisfied, though we have not succeeded yet in softening the hearts of the stern custodians of the Treasury. We have had the good fortune to receive from an anonymous donor, a friend of the Secretary's, the munificent sum of £10,000 to endow a Fund to be called 'The Leopold Schweich Fund', for the furtherance of research in the archaeology, art, history, languages, and literature of ancient civilization with reference to Biblical Study. The sum is now invested half in Bank of England Stock, and half in the 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stock of the Government of New South Wales, and the Committee, which has been appointed in accordance with the conditions of the trust, will soon make proposals to the Council in respect of the Fund. I devoutly hope that efforts will be made by Fellows of the Academy to obtain similar aid for specific departments of the Academy's work. This first Benefaction is of good augury, for although we may well claim aid from public Funds, and maintain that the State should give encouragement to scientific studies promoted by the Academy, I would repeat what I said in my first address, namely, that 'the Academy may also stimulate private benefactors, on whose

munificence we depend to a large extent in this country for the advancement of scientific knowledge'. Indeed, perhaps one of the most important functions of the Academy may be to serve as trustees of the wishes of pious donors with reference to distinct departments of Learning or specific projects.

As regards the relation of the British Academy to the other Academies, in the first instance I would mention that the Academy of Japan, the last constituted of the Academies of the International Association, has been established at Tokio, our ally of the East having quickly followed this country in taking its place, in both the Sections of Natural Science and of Letters, among the active Academies of the World.

The Triennial Meeting of the International Association has just taken place at Vienna, where the Academy was represented by Professor Bywater and the Secretary of the Academy. From our Delegates we shall no doubt this afternoon have some report of what took place at the Meeting: I hear with special gratification that the first part of the great Encyclopaedia of Islam was submitted in the three languages of English, French, and German. The aid which the Academy, through the generosity of the Secretary of State for India, has been able to give towards this undertaking, namely, £200 per annum for ten years, has been a source of great strength to the work, and has been genuinely appreciated by the Committee and by the International Association of Academies. Through the International Association and also through our foreign Corresponding Fellows, the number of whom we are to-day increasing, we are linked by very strong ties to the other Academies of the world. In the list of Corresponding Fellows to be added to-day the United States will for the first time be represented and linked to us. Our kinsfolk across the ocean will, I am sure, be gratified to learn of the election of some of their most distinguished and leading scholars. It will gratify them as much as it will give satisfaction to our absent colleague who is now discharging at Washington the high duties of British Ambassador. It was with great regret that Mr. Bryce, temporarily at all events, had to be absent from us, but duty's call had to be obeyed.

I think that we have had abundant evidence that a useful sphere of activity is lying waste as regards the organization and co-ordination of those branches of scientific study which fall within our scope, and that the existence of a body like ours is fully justified.

Our great need is undoubtedly more ample means. In that respect our position is identical with that of the Universities and

of all learned Societies. We are all dependent on 'the pious founder'. The multitude of claimants must bewilder him, and I am afraid is an excuse for a negative attitude on his part.

We have established our representative character by the careful selection of our Fellows and of our Corresponding Fellows.

If our progress has not been as rapid as some of us may have desired, on the other hand we have not committed the errors which a less cautious procedure might have entailed.

The nature of our work does not appeal to the general public, although that same public reaps the benefit of our efforts.

The Papers in our Proceedings contain the materials for a history of the Academy, and it is to them we refer when we are asked, 'What is your object?' The Proceedings show that we have taken a broad view of our duties.

Our method is *ex hypothesi* purely scientific; our only aim is to obtain scientific results. But the application of that method does not prevent us from considering questions which interest a wider circle than the purely academic circle to which most of us belong.

In some directions we can throw light on problems which give rise to controversy, and which require a more scientific treatment than they are likely to receive in other quarters.

I believe I am justified in saying that in the Academy all opinions are represented and that we have avoided all one-sidedness.

Our discussions have always been conducted with candour, and outspokenness has been reconciled with perfect harmony.

I believe that we have laid a solid foundation on which future generations can build. Our operations will gradually expand.

We depend on the individual exertions of our Fellows, on their loyalty.

I have a firm belief in the future which is in store for this Academy, if it does not lose sight of the high and dignified purposes for which it was founded.

The Academy must not expose itself to the taunt of running in too narrow a groove, and of closing its doors to those who touch exact and technical knowledge with the graces of style and culture.

In this respect the Royal Society has set a good precedent, and it is also the practice of the French Institute. I wish to see the foundation of an Academy in the United States, because the co-operation with such a body would ensure excellent work on both sides of the Atlantic.

I have to thank my Colleagues for the support which I have always received from them. I do not deny that the years during which

I have had the honour of being called by you to preside over this Academy have been years of great anxiety.

We have had to overcome many difficulties, and to proceed with great caution. We have established very friendly relations with the Royal Society, and with other learned Societies and foreign Academies.

My best thanks are due to Professor Gollancz, who since the foundation of the Academy has given to it, with constant devotion, unremitting services which no one is able to appreciate more than myself.

To the Members of the Council I wish to express my gratitude for their valuable co-operation in settling many perplexing questions with which we have had to deal.

I trust that Sir Edward Maunde Thompson may have as pleasant an experience as has been mine, and I am sure that we shall all endeavour to make the responsible office, which we are glad he has accepted, as little of a burden to him as possible.

Five or six years is but a small period in the history of any institution. Ours is probably the only Academy which is not State-endowed and has not even a domicile. But I am confident that ere long we shall be recognized at home as we have been recognized by our sister Academies, who have at once assigned to us a place of distinction.

In taking leave of the office which it has been my privilege to hold since the foundation of the Academy, I can only express the fervent hope that the British Academy may for long years to come grow from strength to strength. *Floreat Academia Britannica.*

SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

June 25, 1908

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, SIR E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B.

ANOTHER year has passed, and the British Academy, although now nearly completing the sixth year of its incorporation, is still a wanderer, without a home. This is not an ideal position for an august body to find itself in; but there are compensations. We have met with the greatest kindness from several of the Societies who have the good fortune to be settled in their own rooms in Burlington House, where, without envy, we may hope that they may ever continue to be. To the Royal Society, to the Society of Antiquaries, to the Royal Astronomical Society, to the Chemical Society, our best thanks are due for frequent hospitality. To all of them we are grateful. We are now the guests of yet another Society. At the close of last year arrangements were made by which the Linnean Society, in a most liberal way, have opened their doors to us and allowed us to find a temporary home with them. I am now addressing you in the Lecture Room of that generous Society, and I do not think that any Fellow of the British Academy will feel that he could be better lodged than in the handsome room in which we meet here to-day.

But while we thus benefit, and gratefully benefit, by the generosity of our friends, we must not rest at ease and be content always to be entertained as we are. Perhaps it may seem a work of supererogation to make application to an unsympathetic Government for the assignment of rooms to the Academy. An opportunity appeared to present itself not long since in this direction. The application was made, and you will not be surprised to hear that it failed. But one must not be discouraged by an occasional rebuff; and, although a refusal, couched, as it always is, in polite official language, might damp the ardour of the uninitiated, those who have had experience of the methods of public departments will not lose courage, but will take example from the importunate widow of the parable, and by much wearying at last attain the object in view.

It would have been a happiness to me if in this my first address as President of the British Academy, I had been able to announce that we had experienced during the past year no loss in our numbers by the fate to which we are all heirs. Last year, you will remember, we had to lament the decease of no less than four of our distinguished Fellows—a loss which dealt the Academy a grievous blow. If during the past twelve months we have been more mercifully spared in respect of numbers, yet the tragic suddenness with which we were deprived of the companionship of our Fellow and friend Sir Spencer Walpole added a sharper pang to our grief for his untimely death. No one took a keener interest in the welfare of the Academy; he was a member of our Council; and his experience in business, his sturdy common sense, and his ready judgement were invaluable assets in our deliberations. Alas, that we have to mourn for him, and to add his name to the roll of those whose work is accomplished!

Owing to the death of Sir Spencer Walpole, and the resignation of his seat on the Council by Sir Frederick Pollock, two vacancies were caused on the Council, and were filled by the election of Professor Henry Jackson and Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte.

The election at the last Annual General Meeting of four new Fellows, Dr. Henry Bradley, Mr. Herbert Fisher, Professor Postgate, and Professor Cook Wilson, has strengthened the Academy in the sections of History, Philology, and Philosophy.

In addition to Fellows, a number of distinguished scholars of other nations were added to our ranks as Corresponding Fellows. The names of Boutroux, Delisle, Harnack, Hoeffding, Judge Holmes, Sachau, Willamovitz-Möllendorff, Gildersleeve, William James, and de Martens are famous throughout Europe and America, and add a lustre to the roll of the British Academy.

In the present year the Council have determined not to propose an election of Corresponding Fellows, having regard to the ample number elected in the past year.

Since the last Annual General Meeting, the report of the Third General Assembly of the International Association of Academies, held at Vienna in May and June, 1907, has been issued. The Academy was represented by Professor Bywater and Professor Gollancz. Among the projects before the Association, those which fall under the section of Letters claim the interest of the British Academy, and in particular the project of a Greek Thesaurus, which was proposed by the Academy at the meeting of the International Association held in London in 1905. A resolution was passed 'That the Greek Thesaurus Committee be continued as an autonomous com-

mittee to promote the project of the Greek Thesaurus and for the consideration of ways and means'. Certain recommendations were made by the committee and communicated to the British Academy, and are now under consideration by the Greek Thesaurus Committee of the Academy, which is empowered to continue to sit, in view of further developments. It will be remembered that the project was originally proposed by our lamented Fellow, Sir Richard Jebb, than whom no one had a higher claim to lay it before the constituent Academies.

With regard to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, to which the British Academy is enabled by the liberality of the Secretary of State for India to contribute the sum of £200 annually for ten years, the first Part has been issued in three languages: English, French, and German. The issue of the English version is the result of this contribution. But for so vast an undertaking as the Encyclopaedia a considerable outlay in the future has to be anticipated, and accordingly, at the meeting of the Association it was resolved to petition for further financial support from the Governments of such countries as number Mohammedans among their populations.

The great critical edition of the Mahabharata is being advanced chiefly by the efforts of the Göttingen Academy.

In the preparation of the Pali Dictionary, to which the British Academy contributes a modest grant, the services of our Fellow, Professor Rhys Davids, are recognized by the Association.

Among other subjects dealt with was one of general importance, namely, the project for the direct international loan of manuscripts and books.

The proposal to publish a corpus of Greek records, put forward by the Royal Bavarian Academy, has been accepted, and, as a preliminary work, the Association has approved of the compilation of a register of all existing documents preserved in the collections of various countries.

The *Corpus Medicorum Antiquorum*, the publication of which has also been undertaken by the Association, is to be directed by an international committee on which our Fellow, Professor Bywater, has been nominated to serve.

A proposal by the British Academy for the compilation of a Bibliography of historical and philosophical papers is in abeyance, in view of a similar scheme undertaken by the Brussels Institute of Bibliography.

The independent work which the British Academy has provisionally undertaken, viz. the publication of social and economic records, will now take shape in the publication of the Cartulary, or rather Rental,

of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, from a MS. in the British Museum of great value for the history of land tenures in Kent. The text has been copied and is being compared and annotated by the editor, Mr. G. J. Turner, whose qualifications for the work are of the best. He is well known as an able editor of publications of a somewhat kindred nature issued by the Selden Society. The copy will be in the printer's hands almost immediately, and, it is hoped, will be issued in the course of some months. In order to insure the best results, the supervision of the edition is placed with a small sub-committee of Fellows of the Academy : a plan which will be followed with all future volumes which may be issued in this series. The undertaking is a most important one. English historical collections have, as we know, been issued in many forms, and notably in the great series of *Chronicles and Memorials*, edited under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. But for the history of the social and economic progress of the country no systematic publication of documents has ever been taken in hand. Here is a great opportunity for the British Academy to do useful work of the highest interest and public value. It is true that the issue of this volume is to be regarded as experimental, but personally I feel no doubt that when the intrinsic value of such a publication is fully realized (and I am sure that we shall not have long to wait before it is fully realized) there will be no lack of means for carrying on a work of such national importance.

In the course of last year the British Academy voted a small grant of £50 to Professor R. S. Conway, in aid of researches on Venetic and Ligurian inscriptions. Professor Conway has now submitted a preliminary report upon the progress made in the work, and he proposes to bring before the Academy a contribution upon the Pre-Italic dialects, the first part of which would deal with the inscriptional and other records of the language of the Veneti. A full report will be read by Professor Conway at our meeting in July.

During the year has been delivered a course of lectures by Professor Driver under the terms of the Schweich Trust Fund. That Fund, as you will remember, consists of a munificent gift of £10,000 made to the Academy by an anonymous donor in memory of the late Leopold Schweich, of Paris, for the furtherance of research in the archaeology, art, history, languages, and literature of ancient civilization with reference to biblical study. The trust deed has been duly executed. The money has been invested ; and the British Academy is fully empowered to dispense the interest of the Fund for the objects named. Under the terms of the trust a series of at least three lectures

are to be delivered annually. In the past year the Academy invited Professor Driver to undertake this duty. His inaugural lectures on 'The Results of Archaeological Research as bearing on the Study of the Old Testament' were delivered in the Theatre at Burlington House, and were largely attended both by the Fellows of the Academy and by the general public. They will soon be in printed form in your hands, and you will be able to judge for yourselves the masterly manner in which Professor Driver sketched the progress of biblical archaeological research down to the present day.

The moral value of a benefaction of this nature, when conferred, as this has been, upon a Society in the early years of its foundation, is hardly to be overestimated. Here is a recognition of the high position taken by the British Academy, and of its ability to dispense such benefactions in the best interests of learning. It is for this reason in particular that we, the Fellows of one of the youngest of the Academies of the world, owe a debt of gratitude to the generous donor who has entrusted the Schweich Fund to our care. I can but echo the hope expressed by Lord Reay, in his address last year, that this Fund is only the beginning of similar trusts to be administered in the future by the British Academy.

Leaving other matters which have engaged the attention of the Academy, I would briefly refer to the extremely interesting paper read by Professor Gollancz on 'Spenseriana'; to the contribution of Professor Percy Gardner on 'The Gold Coinage of Asia before Alexander the Great'; and to Mr. Andrew Lang's suggestive paper on 'The Origin of Terms of Human Relationship'.

The present year brings with it the usual accompaniment of congresses. The International Congress of Orientalists is to be held at Copenhagen in August, when the British Academy will be worthily represented by Professor Rhys Davids. The value of this Congress has been more and more recognized every succeeding year, and it is a satisfaction to think that Great Britain, the greatest oriental Power in the world, is beginning to show an interest in oriental matters. It is noteworthy that a paper on oriental studies in England, by Professor Rhys Davids, at one of the early meetings of the Academy, has had a most important effect. The attention thus drawn to the subject has led to the appointment of a Treasury Committee, under the presidency of Lord Reay. This committee is now sitting, and it is to be hoped that when its report is issued, oriental studies in this country will receive an impetus, and obtain the support and encouragement, so long wanting, of a British Government slowly awakening to the fact that British scholars are

capable of adapting themselves to the study of Eastern languages, which until recently have been left with somewhat contemptuous good nature to the enterprising foreigner and the zealous professor of other lands.

In a few days will be celebrated in these rooms by the Linnean Society the fiftieth Anniversary of the reading of the joint Essay by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace which led the way to the issue of the famous *Origin of Species*. I shall have the honour of representing the Academy on that occasion.

The Congress of Historical Science, to be held in Berlin in August, will be attended by our Fellows, Mr. Bryce, now on his way home for a brief respite from his ambassadorial duties at Washington, Professor Bury, and Professor Haverfield.

A happy suggestion has been made, and has been welcomed by the Council, and, I believe, will also be welcomed by the Fellows, that occasionally meetings of the British Academy should be held, when fitting opportunities present themselves, in Oxford and Cambridge. So many of our Fellows are members of the sister Universities, that it seems only a natural and proper thing that the Academy should put in an appearance from time to time at those seats of learning. Such occasions as the reading of papers by members of one or other University may be very properly utilized for such migrations of our meetings from London.

At the close of this year, on December 9, there is to be a Tercentenary celebration of the birth of Milton, and the arrangements for carrying it out have been entrusted to the British Academy. An invitation to initiate a movement for the commemoration of the Tercentenary, in the form of a letter addressed to the Academy and signed by the Lord Mayor of London, the Chairman of the London County Council, the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, the High Master of St. Paul's School, and Mr. H. A. Harben on behalf of the Trustees of Milton's Cottage at Chalfont St. Giles, was received in January last. The Academy have accepted the invitation and have appointed a committee of their Fellows, with power to add other members, to make all arrangements. We have undertaken the office with a due sense of the responsibilities of the occasion. It is a very necessary and seemly thing that a celebration of the birth of the great English poet, who above all represented the religious sentiment of his time in the great poems which are a monument of our English language in its most stately form, should be conducted with all dignity and reverence, and with simple ceremony. The

committee have not yet entirely formulated the programme, which will be submitted on a future date; but, as you are aware, with the authority of the Council, I have already addressed a letter to the public press inviting all educational authorities of English-speaking countries not to forget to mark the event in a suitable manner. It is not for the British Academy to suggest the ways in which those authorities should do honour to Milton.

I have now reported to you on the affairs of the Academy for the past twelve months. You, the Fellows, knowing the conditions, will recognize in this brief summary the points in which we may claim to have made progress, and those in which, perhaps, more might have been achieved. As an Academy, we have a right to the position taken by the Academies of foreign countries who are recognized by their respective Governments as bodies whose advice and assistance can be sought in all matters appertaining to literary and scientific knowledge. In our own country it is our function to do for humane learning what the Royal Society (our sister Academy in the International Association of Academies) does for the physical sciences. But the growth and development of such a body as ours must necessarily be a slow process, and too much must not be attempted at once. Slowly and surely, since its foundation scarcely six years ago, the British Academy has become firmly established, and has worthily taken its place among the Academies of the world—a position which has been honourably recognized by our colleagues in other countries. Original investigations; relations with other Academies and Societies; publication of such series as our social and economic series; administration of trusts, as in the case of the Schweich Trust; conduct of national commemorations, as, for example, the Milton celebration—in these, and such as these, the British Academy is to find its field of action.

SUMMARY

KNIGHT'S FEES

By PAUL VINOGRADOFF

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read January 30, 1907

THE 'knight's fee' is a characteristic feature of the feudal system in England. If we knew exactly how large a knight's fee was, we would possess a clue to the material arrangement of military service, as the fee was considered the unit of land-holding necessary to support a knight. At present the prevailing view seems to be that it would be impossible to arrive at any definite conclusions in regard to the size of such a unit. The actual fees turn out to be exceedingly different; some were large, some small, and all sorts of gradations are represented by well-attested examples. Undoubtedly the actual estates of knights were never distributed and arranged according to a consistent scheme, but a careful study of the materials at hand discloses the existence of certain *standards* as to size and efficiency, which were devised by men of those times and ought not to be disregarded by modern investigators.

1. There is, to begin with, a standard of income. In the reign of Edward I twenty pounds was considered as the normal income of a knight from his estate. The 'twenty librates' standard is, however, by no means an ancient one. In Henry III's time it was fifteen pounds, and in Henry II's reign ten pounds. In its endeavours to enforce knight's service and to ensure proper equipment for the militia, the government sometimes used estimates of the value of chattels, but these were graduated according to a scale originally drawn up on the basis of income from land.

By the side of the standards for the ordinary fees there appears another set of estimates for smaller fees of knights in light equipment. These were commonly called fees of the honour of Mortain, although they occur in many cases outside the limits of this particular honour. The standard of these fees of the 'smaller shield' as to service, scutage, and relief was two-thirds of the ordinary one. The value of the small fee in Henry II's reign amounted to ten marks yearly income. The home of the small fees was chiefly the south-west of England.

2. Another valuation starts not from income or value in chattels, but from the quantity of land assigned to the normal estate of a knight, or rather from the number of agrarian units—hides or carucates—included in the estate. Features of two arrangements may be traced in this direction. In the south of England the knight's fee often assumes the shape of an estate of five hides, and even when it is larger or smaller it does not usually swerve very much from this ordinary standard. The fee of the 'smaller shield' represents a corresponding reduction of this typical estate to three or two hides. In the north of England the fee of Mortain does not occur at all, although there were many estates derived from that honour, while the ordinary fee consists of a much larger number of carucates, usually varying from ten to forty-eight. The difference in the treatment of the fee in these districts may be explained, on one hand, by the lingering tradition of the five-hide unit used for the apportionment of service in the King's expeditions of the Anglo-Saxon system ; on the other hand, to the scattering of estates among small freemen in the Anglo-Danish parts which made it impossible there to carve regular knight's fees of the five-hide type.

WHO WERE THE ROMANS?

By WILLIAM RIDGEWAY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read April 24, 1907

It has commonly been held by writers on Roman history, since Mommsen wrote, that the Romans were an homogeneous people, there being no ethnical distinction between Patricians and Plebeians. This view has certainly the advantage of simplicity, but the charm of simplicity has often proved as fatal in problems of history as in those of Natural Science. For the deeper we penetrate into the inwardness of things, the more complex do all the phenomena of Nature appear, and in no department can this be affirmed with greater certainty than in all that appertains to Man.

The ancients themselves give a very clear and coherent account of the various elements in the population of Upper Italy in the early part of the first millennium before our era.[1]

Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives us very valuable information on the early ethnology, and though his authority has so often been treated with contempt by modern writers because he wrote in the latter half of the first century before Christ, it must not be forgotten that he cites explicitly from writers who lived centuries earlier, and whose works are otherwise lost to us probably for ever.

First of all there were the 'Aborigines', as they are termed by Dionysius (following Cato and still earlier writers), and secondly there were the great tribes of Siculans and Umbrians. The Umbrians and Siculans seem to have been closely related, the Siculans being the earlier wave which had advanced down from the Alpine regions, whilst their kindred Umbrian tribes were constantly pushing them on further south. The Aborigines were being continually hard pressed by both the Siculans and Umbrians, and those of them who had maintained their freedom for the most part dwelt along the Apennines, into which they had been driven by their powerful invaders from the richer lands of the plains. When the settlers

[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 231 sqq.

from Greece landed in Italy at the mouth of the Po (where some of their number founded Spina), that region was chiefly in the hands of the Ombrikoi (Umbrians), and in dread of these the Greeks made friends with the Aborigines. The latter were only too glad of aid against their powerful foes, and the combined forces managed to defeat some of the Umbrians, and took their town Cortona, which served henceforward as a base of operations. According to the traditions the Greeks, with the help of the Aborigines, founded many important towns, among which were Agylla, afterwards known as Caere (*Cervetri*), Pisa, Alsion, Falerii, and various others.

Next came the invasion of the Lydian Tyrseni from Asia Minor, for it is impossible to admit Mommsen's view that they were Rhaetians from the Alps, which has no other foundation except Corssen's guess that the name Rasenna is identical with Rhaeti.

Apparently both the Greek settlers and their allies the Aborigines were glad of the coming of the Tyrsenians, for they were in sore need of assistance against the ever-increasing encroachments of the Umbrian tribes. The new combination of Tyrsenians, Pelasgian settlers, and Aborigines was very effective in checking for a long period the advance of peoples from the Alps. For the Etruscans are said to have conquered more than three hundred Umbrian towns.[1] Henceforth the Umbrians only held their independence in the region called Umbria in the classical period, though doubtless forming a considerable element in the population of all the region up to the Alps. But though the men from beyond the Alps had been checked for a while, the day came when the Celts, the close kinsfolk of the Umbrians, swarmed over the Alps into the valley of the Po, as the Siculans and later the Umbrians had done many centuries before. By B.C. 390 the Etruscan power had suffered a catastrophe from which it was destined never to recover, while even Rome herself, after the disaster on the Allia, fell for the moment into the hands of the Gauls. Bought off by Roman gold the Gauls retired from the south side of the Tiber, but they established themselves over almost all Northern Italy extending as far south as Sena Gallica and Bononia. In due time the shattered remains of the once powerful Etruscan confederacy fell before Rome, as did also the great Samnitic tribes, the most vigorous descendants of the Umbro-Sabellian stock, whom we first meet at the dawn of history. Besides the Etruscans and Gauls, we hear in the historical period of another people, who not only maintained themselves in the mountainous region of which Genoa may be regarded as the centre, but in all North-Western Italy and in South-

[1] Pliny, *N. H.* iii. 5, 8.

Western France. These are the people known to the Roman writers as Ligures, and to the Greeks as Ligyes. As they occupy the same mountainous area as that assigned to the Aborigines by Dionysius, and as Philistus of Syracuse says that the Ligyes were expelled from their homes by the Umbrians, there is no doubt that the Aborigines of Dionysius and Cato are none other than the Ligyes or Ligurians of Philistus and other writers.

Let us now test the credibility of the statements of the ancient historians by the criterion of the actual material remains which modern excavations have brought to light throughout Upper and Central Italy. A survey of these remains other than those of post-Roman date will show (i) a series of remains associated frequently with Roman coins and Latin inscriptions which are indubitable proofs that these belong to the Roman period. (ii) In certain places, as for example at Bologna, are found graves containing the remains of men of large stature, with long iron swords and other gear similar to those found on the battle-fields where Caesar defeated the Helvetii and Boii, along the Alpine passes, and in the graves of Gaulish warriors in the valley of the Marne and elsewhere; these objects are often distinguished by a style of ornament well known wherever the Celts made their way in the centuries between B.C. 400 and A.D. 1, commonly termed the La Tène period, but by some 'late Celtic'. (iii) At an earlier level than the remains just named appear, for instance at Bologna, series of graves perfectly distinct not only from those just described, but also from those of a still earlier period, by their shape, decoration, and method of disposing of the dead. The latter are never cremated as were the Rhaeti, but are laid in the tomb. The true Etruscan tomb (for Etruscan assuredly these are) is a chamber entered by a door in the side, though this form is not found north of the Apennines, for in the Etruscan cemetery at Certosa near Bologna the graves are large pits without a side entrance, into which one has to descend from above. They are rectangular, with the long sides running east and west: they contain a large oaken chest with a lid fixed by iron nails. The skeleton lies within the chest with its feet to the east. Many are seated with arms and legs extended.

(iv) In the famous cemeteries of Bologna, below the graves which have been last described, come a large series readily distinguished from those of all the later periods. These all belong to the Early Iron Age, usually termed the Villanova period by the Italian archaeologists, from the discovery of a large number of its characteristic remains at the place of that name near Bologna. The antiquities of

this culture[1] are widely spread over Upper Italy, and differ essentially not only from the later periods just described, but also from a still earlier epoch. They show a great advance in metal work. The cemeteries of this age reveal cist-graves, the bottom, sides, and top being formed of flat unhewn stones, though sometimes there are only bottom and top slabs. The dead were burned: the remains are usually in urns, each grave containing as a rule but one ossuary. Sometimes the vessel is covered with a flat stone, or a dish upside down, sometimes the urns are deposited in the ground without any protection. The vases are often hand-made, and adorned with incised linear ornament, but the bones, especially in later times, were often placed in bronze urns or buckets. Mycenean influences are seen at work in the region round the mouth of the Po, but here, as we have just seen, the Pelasgians of Thessaly had planted Spina.

Though iron is making its way steadily into use for cutting weapons, flat, flanged, socketed, and looped axes of bronze are found in considerable numbers. Brooches of many kinds, ranging from the most primitive safety-pin fashioned out of a common bronze pin, such as those found at Peschiera, through many varieties are in universal use. Representations of the human figure are practically unknown, but models of animals of a rude and primitive kind are very common, probably being votive offerings. These are closely parallel to the bronze figures found at Olympia, where representations of the human figure are still comparatively rare. Almost all the Olympian bronzes of this type were found at the same level, and in one particular part of the Altis at Olympia near the Heraeum and Pelopium, and they belong to the Geometric or Dipylon period. At Olympia likewise many brooches were found, and these too of types which can be paralleled in Italy.

There can be little doubt that the Villanova culture had commenced in the Bronze Age, for in a considerable number of cemeteries belonging to that period the dead were cremated and not inhumed, as was the case in the preceding epoch to which we shall next turn. This difference in burial rites indicates prima facie a difference of race. The brooches were in use before the end of the Bronze Age, as is shown by the discovery of primitive safety-pins in settlements of the Bronze Age, as at Peschiera.

(v) The researches of the Italian antiquaries during the last half-century have collected a vast body of information respecting the earliest stages of human culture in Northern and Central Italy, and we are now conversant with its essential characteristics. The

[1] Ridgeway, op. cit., vol. i. pp. 237–8.

earliest stage is that revealed in the lake-dwellings of the plains of the Po, usually termed the Terramara.[1] *Terramara* is the term applied to a substance looking like a mixture of clay, sand, and ashes, arranged in differently coloured strata—yellowish-brown, green, or black—found in large flattish mounds. These artificial deposits occur over the provinces of Parma, Reggio, and Modena. Agriculturists had long used these mounds for manure, but in 1861 Strobel showed that they were really the sites of pile-dwellings. Like remains have now been discovered all over Upper Italy, in Latium, and even as far south as Tarentum. The antiquities found in these habitations show that their earliest occupants were still in the Neolithic period, but the great majority of the remains belong to the Copper and Bronze Ages. They comprise vessels of earthenware, both large and small, and of manifold shapes, some of which correspond to those types found in the Balkan and Danubian regions, and also in Spain. The larger vessels are of coarse clay, roughly kneaded, and quite unglazed. The smaller vessels are made of a finer paste with thin walls and a smooth blackish surface. There are many articles made of bone and horn, comprising needles, pins, ornamented combs, and other objects. Stone axes, chisels, and spear-heads are not common, but there are numbers of rubbers, mealing-stones, and grooved spheroidal stones. Of copper and bronze there are numbers of flat axes, awls, chisels, spear-heads, knives, crescent-shaped razors, combs, pins, and needles. The flat celt is the earliest type of metal axe, being modelled from the stone axe which it superseded. Iron is not yet known, neither is glass nor silver found, and indeed there is but one doubtful object of gold. In all the earlier habitations brooches, rings, and bracelets are absent.

From the evidence now to hand, it is clear that these people dwelt in lakes and marshes, rearing pile-dwellings like the Stone and Bronze Age people of Switzerland, Southern Germany, and many other parts of Europe. At the time of their first occupation they were still employing stone for all cutting purposes, but at no long time afterwards they had learned to use copper, and later still bronze, for cutting and other important implements, whilst stone was only retained for meaner purposes. Their dead were buried in a contracted posture lying on the side or sometimes sitting. The Terramara civilization is probably contemporary with that seen in the earliest strata at Hissarlik.

Now history tells us that a series of peoples corresponding to the different classes of material remains just enumerated have in their

[1] Ridgeway, op. cit., pp. 234 sqq.

turn played a rôle in the story of Upper and Central Italy. Romans, Gauls, and Etruscans held Upper Italy. There can be no doubt that our classes (i), (ii), (iii) represent the relics of the Romans, the Gauls, and the Etruscans. As the Villanova (iv) period precedes the Etruscan, we have in the Villanova antiquities the remains of the Umbrian-Siculan tribes. Behind the Villanova or Umbrian culture lies (v) the Terramara. But we have just learned from Dionysius that Upper Italy had been occupied by a people whom he terms the Aborigines, and that these people had in part been conquered by the Umbrians. Now Philistus of Syracuse tells us that the Ligyes were driven from their homes by the Umbrians and Pelasgians, from which it appears that the Aborigines of Dionysius are none other than the Ligyes or Ligurians so well known in Roman history. The Aborigines are said to have continued to hold their own in the Apennines, and it is in that region that through historical times the Ligurians have dwelt uninterruptedly, extending from Genoa, not only to the Maritime Alps, but as far as the Rhone, though largely intermixed with Celtic tribes from beyond the Alps. The Ligurians of Roman times [1] were a small, active, hardy, dark-complexioned race. Though Spain was occupied principally by Iberic tribes, whom I venture to think were the close kinsmen of the Ligurians, nevertheless in North-East Spain the Ligyes proper had long had a foothold, for according to Thucydides it was the pressure of this people that had caused a body of Iberians from the River Sicanus to migrate to Sicily. These Ligyes occupied all Narbonese Gaul at the time of the founding of Massalia, for the Phoceans obtained possession of that famous town by the marriage of their captain to the daughter of the native Ligurian chief. Nor is there wanting evidence that they had once occupied the Po region, and even the Alpine districts, for Livy [2] mentions a Ligurian tribe called Libui, who, down to the coming of the Celtic Cenomanni, dwelt near Verona, and they are probably to be regarded as forming all through the ages, whether Umbrian, Pelasgian, Etruscan, or Roman had the mastery, the main element in the population of all Italy. Just as they bordered on the Iberians in the west, so on the north-east they merged into the Illyrian tribes, who may also be regarded as their kindred. Strabo points out that the Ligurians were carefully to be distinguished from the Celtic tribes of the Alps, although he also tells us that their manner of life was identical with that of their neighbours.

Let us now pass south of the Tiber and examine the literary

[1] Ridgeway, op. cit., vol. i. pp. 240 and 375-6. [2] v. 35.

records of the ethnology of that famous region and again test tradition by the evidence of the spade. As we have just seen, the remains of a culture similar to that of the Terramara have likewise been found in Latium. The legends alone are sufficient to indicate that there had been two or more races in Latium from a very early time, and I have already pointed out [1] that it is more than likely that this circumstance explains much in the subsequent history. of Rome, such as the origin of the Plebs and its long and bitter struggles against the Patricians. Since I wrote in 1902, the excavations carried out so skilfully by the brilliant Italian archaeologist, Commendatore Boni, have fully confirmed my argument, for he has found in the Forum graves exhibiting two different ways of disposing of the dead—the one class inhumation, the other cremation—of itself a proof of the existence of two races with very different views respecting the soul. In Latium, as in the region north of the Tiber, we hear of Aborigines, Siculi, and Pelasgians, though the Umbrian name does not appear. This fact is readily explained. As I have already pointed out, the Siculi are the advanced guard of the Celto-Umbrian peoples from beyond the Alps, and on them the Umbrians properly so called are pressing down at the dawn of history, but none of the latter had entered Latium until perhaps the time when the Sabini first passed into that quarter. Whilst the accounts of the ethnology of Italy north of the Tiber are clear and harmonious, the same cannot be said of the early traditions of Latium. The various accounts preserved for us by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who drew his information from older authorities, such as Varro and Cato, are confused and apparently contradictory.

Let us first start with the Aborigines. This name can mean nothing save an autochthonous race, and, as Niebuhr justly observed, can never have been a tribal name. It was already in use at the beginning of the third century B.C., for it was employed by Callias,[2] who flourished about 284 B.C.; and Lycophron,[3] who derived his knowledge of Rome from Timaeus of Locri (*floruit* 300 B.C.), seems to allude to them under the form Borigini, among whom it was predicted that Aeneas should settle. Cato [4] says that the chief part of the plain in the land of the Volsci had formerly belonged to the Aborigines. He also [5] says that the Aborigines dwelt about Carseoli and Reate, and were driven thence by the Sabines who had

[1] *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. p. 254.

[2] Dion. Hal. i. 72.

[3] v. 1253.

[4] Frag. Origg. i (Priscian v. p. 608).

[5] Dion. Hal. i. 11.

advanced from Aquila.[1] Varro enumerates the names of their towns, and says that their sites were still to be seen. Their capital, Lista, had been taken by surprise, and, as the attempts which they made to recover it for many years had proved fruitless, they withdrew from that district down the Anio.

The Siculi were then in possession of Tibur, Antemnae, Ficulea, Tellena,[2] Crustumerium, and Aricia. These the Aborigines either subdued or expelled. Varro says that the Aborigines had joined the Pelasgians and had aided them in driving out the Siculi. After this the Pelasgians withdrew and dispersed.

The story of the alliance between the Aborigines and settlers from Greece is exactly what we have in the case of the country north of the Tiber, where we identified the Aborigines with the Ligurians, and there is no reason why the same should not have taken place in Latium, where remains similar to the Terramara culture are also found. It accounts for several apparent difficulties in the statements. Some writers held that the Aborigines were Pelasgians; others, like Cato and Sempronius, said that the Aborigines were Acheans. Varro, as we saw, said that after the conquest of the Siculi by the combined Pelasgians and Aborigines the Pelasgians withdrew. This statement probably means that the Pelasgians in no long time merged in the much more numerous native Ligurian population. This they would do all the more readily, as they were probably of the same ethnic stock as the Aborigines. Indeed, Dionysius says that the Aborigines had received the Pelasgians on terms of equality through hope of assistance, and especially on grounds of kinship. Both were parts of the dark-complexioned dolichocephalic race, and probably spoke closely related dialects.

Now the Pelasgian settlers at Falerii were said to have come under the leadership of Halesus, son of Agamemnon. In the Homeric poems the people of Argolis are often called Acheans as well as Danaans and Argives, for though the population was Pelasgian, the ruling dynasty was Achean. It was therefore not unnatural that the nomenclature of settlers from Argos during the Achean domination should show signs of fluctuation similar to those in Homer. By the time of the Dorian conquest the name Achean was so deeply rooted in parts of Peloponnesus that, though the

[1] Dion. Hal. ii. 49. Tradition speaks of Sacrani, who entered Latium. This name corresponds so closely in form to Sabini, Lucani, Hirpini, and names of other tribes, of whose connexion with the Sabine stock there is no doubt, that it is not improbable that the Sacrani were the Sabine tribe who drove the aboriginal Ligyes from Carseoli and Reate, where the Sabines are established from the dawn of history.

[2] Ibid. i. 16.

refugees from Argolis and Laconia were largely of Pelasgian blood, nevertheless they were called Acheans in their new homes both in Peloponnesus (Achaia) and also in Magna Graecia (the Achean colonies). The same seems to have been the case in Latium and Etruria. We now can see that there is no contradiction between Varro and Cato, as Niebuhr thought, but that Cato speaks of the settlers from Greece as Acheans, whilst Varro terms them by their older racial name of Pelasgians.

As we have ascribed the great walls of polygonal masonry in Etruria to the Pelasgians, so we may with equal reason assign to them the great gateways and walls of Signia, and other towns south of the Tiber. In all the region north of the Tiber we found the aboriginal Ligurian population always burying their dead, whilst the Umbrians always cremated theirs. Accordingly, when we find these two methods of disposing of the dead in the Roman Forum, we may infer with very high probability that in these two sets of graves we have the remains of the Aborigines or Ligurians, and of the Umbro-Siculans respectively.

The story of a Pelasgian settlement in Latium is supported by the legend of Evander and his Arcadians. Pausanias[1] relates that Evander was the best of the Arcadians both in council and in war, that he set out at the head of a band of Arcadians from Pallantium and built a city by the river Tiber, and that that quarter of the city of Rome was called Pallantium in memory of the city in Arcadia. In the legend of the union between Aeneas and Latinus, king of the Aborigines,[2] the eponymous hero of the Latins, against the Rutuli and their fierce king Turnus, we can hear an echo of one of those many combinations between the new-comers and the indigenous tribes against the Siculan and Umbrian clans. The Aborigines of Carseoli and Reate had probably been driven from the plain into the mountains by the Siculi, and being constantly pressed by the Sabines, another of the ever-advancing tribes of Umbrians, would hail gladly any alliance with new settlers, by whose aid they might succeed in overcoming their ancient enemies, and recover at least a portion of their lost lands. Thus according to Roman tradition the Latini were the Aborigines, or, in other words, Ligurians, a tradition of great significance in view of the fact that the *populus Romanus* spoke not *lingua Romana*, but *lingua Latina*. Romulus and his brother are represented as descended from Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, the king of the Aborigines.

[1] viii. 43, 2.
[2] Callias ap. Dion. Hal. i. 72 Λατίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων.

But to that wonderful alloy, from which the Romans were to develop, another element, and that the most important, had to be added. The Sabines had driven the Aborigines from Reate and Carseoli and the surrounding district, which became known as Sabina in classical times. It was here that the simple, frugal, and uncorrupt manners of life lingered when the morals of Rome had sunk low. According to the legend it was from hence that Romulus provided his men with Sabine wives. War ensued between Romulus and Titus Tatius, the Sabine king of Cures, which resulted in the amalgamation of the two peoples under the two kings, the fusion leading to the classes of Titienses and Ramnenses.

There is not only the evidence already cited to show that the Sabines were racially distinct from the aboriginal Ligurians, but many proofs can also be adduced to show that the Patricians were Sabines, the Plebeians the aboriginal Ligurians conquered by the former, whilst it can also be made probable that Latin, the language of the Roman empire, was the tongue not of the Sabine conquerors, but of their Plebeian subjects, in other words that Latin is Ligurian.

I shall now adduce arguments based on (1) the Flamens, (2) Marriage, (3) Disposal of the Dead, (4) Armature, and (5) Linguistic Laws.

Flamens. At Rome there were three *Flamines maiores* who, even down to Imperial times, must be Patricians, and three *flamines minores* who were Plebeians. Tacitus[1] relates that on the death of Servius Maluginensis, the *flamen Dialis*, a difficulty arose in filling his office, and accordingly Tiberius made a speech in which he pointed out that by ancient custom three Patricians born of parents who had been married by Confarreation ought to be nominated, one of whom was to be elected; but that such a supply was no longer available, as it once had been, owing to Confarreation having fallen into disuse, or being retained only by the few. Several reasons for this were alleged, chief of which was the carelessness of men and women, added to which was the troublesome nature of the ceremony, which was therefore deliberately avoided, and also because the successful candidate passed from under Patria Potestas, as did also the woman who married the flamen, by a ceremony which involved *conuentio in manum*. The flamen thus ceased to be one of his father's *sui heredes*, whilst his wife passed under her husband's full legal control, and hence could hold no separate property, which she could have done had she been *sui iuris*. To meet the exigencies of the case it was enacted that the wife of

[1] *Ann.* iv. 16.

the flamen Dialis (*flaminica Dialis*) should be *sacrorum causa in potestate uiri*, but in all other respects should have the same legal rights as other women.

Not only did this ancient rule apply to the flamen Dialis, but also to the *flamines Martialis* and *Quirinalis*, all three being termed the *flamines maiores*.[1] If it can be shown that the three gods ministered to by the *flamines maiores* (confessedly Patricians) were Sabine deities, it follows that the Patricians were Sabines. Now not only did Numa Pompilius the Sabine probably institute confarreatic marriage at Rome, as we shall soon see,[2] but another tradition states that he was not only himself the first flamen Dialis, but that he instituted both that office and also the flamenships of Mars and Quirinus.[3] The connexion of Numa the Sabine with the office of flamen Dialis, combined with the fact that the three greater flamenships were confined to Patricians, who must be the offspring of confarreate marriages, naturally suggests both that the Patricians represented a Sabine master element, and that confarreate marriage, which was to the last so closely bound up with the Patricians and the three greater flamenships, was also of Sabine origin. This prima facie probability would be rendered as certain as the nature of the case permits, if it could be shown that the three divinities, whose sacred rites were to the last administered by Patricians, were in origin not Latin but Sabine. Varro[4] himself at once comes to our aid, for he tells us that the worship of Ianus was instituted at Rome by Numa the Sabine, who, according to the tradition just cited, was himself the first flamen Dialis. In later times this functionary took charge of the worship of Iupiter. But was this so from the beginning? The form *Dia*-lis is separated by its vowel from *Dious* (*Iou*-s = *Iu*- in *Iu*-piter), whilst it is closely connected with *Dia*-nus and *Dia*-na. But as Diana also appeared as Iana,[5] the masculine Ianus is only the later form of the obsolete Dianus. On the other hand, there is also the adjective *Iovialis* formed properly from the stem *Ioui*-.

It must also be remembered that, according to Livy's account, the

[1] Gaius, i. 112 'nam flamines maiores, id est, Diales, Martiales, Quirinales, sicut reges sacrorum, nisi sint confarreatis nuptiis' (here follows lacuna in Verona palimpsest).

[2] See *infra*, p. 29 note.

[3] Varro, *L. L.* v. 81; vi. 16; cf. Livy, i. 20.

[4] *L. L.* v 165 'Tertia est Ianualis, dicta ab Iano, et ideo ibi positum Iani signum et ius institutum a Pompilio, ut scribit in annalibus Piso, ut sit aperta semper, nisi cum bellum sit nusquam'; so also Livy, i. 19.

[5] Varro, *R. R.* i. 37, 3.

god whom Numa served in his capacity of flamen Dialis was not Iupiter Eliceus, who, as we are explicitly told, had a special cult of his own amongst the Plebeians on the Aventine. Numa, who introduced the worship of Ianus, was naturally the first flamen Dialis. Nor need we find any difficulty in the subsequent partial merging of the cult of Ianus into that of Iupiter, who was already in possession of Rome. Thus, though Ianus in early days had undoubtedly differed from Quirinus, yet Horace and others identify Ianus with Quirinus, and even with Matutinus.[1] The partial fusion of the chief male divinity of the Sabines with the chief male divinity already worshipped at Rome is perhaps the true explanation of the representation of Ianus with two faces, both being those of bearded men in the prime of life. The earliest Janiform representations which we know are those on coins of Tenedos, Lampsacus, and Athens, one face being that of a beardless male, the other of a female. On coins of Etruria we meet with a similar type, whilst on the first silver coins struck bearing the name Roma, those issued in Campania, we now find that both faces are those of men, both however beardless. Finally, on the Roman *as* we meet the full Janiform type, with two bearded faces as just stated. In the earlier forms where one of the faces is male, the other female, we probably have two closely connected deities, husband and wife, such as Dianus and Diana. Later on, when the fusion of Ianus and Iupiter took place, and they were regarded as of equal importance, the double male face became the outward and visible sign of their blended attributes of 'Father Ianus' and 'Father Iupiter'.

According to Varro[2] Mars or Mamers was a Sabine deity, whilst the same author represents Quirinus as connected with the Quirites,[3] that is, the inhabitants of the Sabine town of Cures, a view endorsed by all modern writers.

It is now clear that the cults of Ianus, Mars, and Quirinus were Sabine and not Latin in origin, and as their priesthoods always remained restricted to Patricians, we may infer with safety that the Patricians themselves were Sabine in origin.

Marriage. Under the Republic there were three ways of effecting a legal marriage (*matrimonium iustum, nuptiae iustae*). All these were marriages *cum conuentione in manum mariti*, by which the woman passed entirely from under the control of her father or guardian, and

[1] *Sat.* ii. 6, 20.

[2] *L. L.* v. 73 'Mars ab eo quod maribus in bello praeest, aut quod Sabinis acceptus ibi est Mamers, Quirinus a Quiritibus'; Dion. Hal. ii. 48 τὸν δ' Ἐνυάλιον οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες Κυρῖνον ὀνομάζουσιν.

[3] Virg. *Aen.* vii. 710; cf. Livy, i. 13.

from her own *familia* into that of her husband, to whom she became subject, and to whom she stood legally in the position of daughter to father, so long as the marriage subsisted.

Marriages *cum conuentione in manum* were of three kinds—*confarreatio*, *coemptio*, and *usus*. We shall treat them in reverse order.

(1) If a woman had lived with a man one whole year without absenting herself for three consecutive nights, she passed thereby *in manum mariti* by prescription (*usus*). In this we see but a special application of the ordinary Roman law of *usucapio*.

(2) *Coemptio* was accompanied by a ceremony, but one that was purely civil. As Wife Purchase is one of the most widely spread practices of the human race, we have no difficulty in recognizing its survival in the Roman *coemptio*, which was a fictitious sale of the bride to the bridegroom according to the technical procedure followed in the sale of *res mancipi*. It was therefore necessary that, as in *mancipatio*, there should be five witnesses, who must be Roman citizens of full age, and a *libripens* to hold the scales, which had to be touched with a piece of copper (*per aes et libram*).

(3) *Confarreatio* differed entirely from the two preceding by the fact that it was essentially a religious ceremony. It was performed in the house of the bridegroom, whither the bride had been brought in state, in the presence of at least ten witnesses, the Pontifex Maximus and the Flamen Dialis officiating. A set form of words was recited, and a cake of *far* (*panis farreus*) was shared by the parties, who sat on the skin of a sheep that had been sacrificed.

This peculiar form of marriage, though attributed to Romulus by Dionysius,[1] was probably introduced by Numa Pompilius,[2] the Sabine king, who ordained that a married woman after the consummation of the marriage should share her husband's goods and sacred rites. Dionysius says that the ancients called sacred and legal marriages *farracean*, because the couple shared a cake of *far* (spelt),[3] which in old times was the staple grain of Latium.

That *Confarreatio* was essentially the Patrician rite is demonstrated by Tacitus in the passage above cited, wherein it is shown that none but Patricians and those born of parents married by confarreation and themselves married by the same solemn ceremony were eligible for the priesthoods of the three Sabine deities—Ianus, Mars, and Quirinus. On the other hand, the *flamines minores* were Plebeians, and as there

[1] *A. R.* ii. 25.

[2] Livy, i. 19 '(Numa) regno ita potitus urbem nouam conditam ui et armis iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat.'

[3] See *infra*, p. 31 note.

was no rule that they should be the offspring of confarreate marriages, it seems that the latter form of marriage was confined to the Patricians. Since the refusal by the Patricians of the *ius connubii* to the Plebeians was one of the sorest grievances of the latter until it was removed by the Lex Canuleia (B.C. 445), it is all the more probable that the Patricians had a form of marriage peculiar to themselves. It would accordingly appear that the purely civil forms of marriage (*coemptio* and *usus*) were those in use among the Plebeians. Now if the Patricians held that marriage involved a very sacred religious obligation, whilst the Plebeians considered it merely a civil contract, the grounds on which the Patricians denied the *ius connubii* to the Plebeians may have had a deeper source than mere class feeling, or the contempt of an aristocracy of conquerors for their subjects. As none but Patricians were united by the religious marriage, the union of Patrician and Plebeian could have no religious sanction, and the children of such a union were accordingly considered bastards (*spurii*). In fact, the objection of the Patricians to the *ius connubii* may be compared to the prejudice generally felt in our day to a purely civil marriage. Divorce was practically unknown in cases of confarreate marriage, for that sacred bond could only be dissolved by a ceremony called *diffareatio*, in which it is probable that a cake of *far* was used in some way. The existence of so secure a marriage bond is quite in accord with the lofty views of chastity and conjugal fidelity handed down to us in the imperishable tales of the matron Lucrece and the maiden Virginia. According to the writer of the Augustan age this purity of life still flourished in their own day among the simple and uncorrupted women of the Sabine valleys.[1]

But as this solemn form of marriage used by the Patricians alone was introduced into Rome by Numa the Sabine, we are justified in the inference that the Patricians were Sabines. It would then appear that a body of Sabines had become masters of Rome and had brought with them their own religion and their own form of marriage. Unless these Sabines had formed the original Patres, and were conquerors, there seems no reason why they should have refused the *ius connubii* to the Plebeians, many of whom were probably just as wealthy as the Patricians. Analogy, too, would lead us to believe that this restriction arose rather from pride of conquest than from pride of wealth. Thus, at Sparta, where there was an aristocracy of conquerors, the offspring of a Spartiate and a Helot was

[1] Hor. *Epod.* ii. 39 'quodsi pudica mulier in partem iuvet—Sabina qualis' *cett.*

considered illegitimate (being termed a *Mothax* or *Mothon*). On the other hand, at Athens, where the Eupatridae were autochthonous and not an aristocracy of conquest, they seem never to have denied the right of intermarriage to the other classes.

The high ideal of conjugal life disclosed in the Patrician, that is, Sabine, doctrine of confarreatic marriage, from which there was no divorce save death, finds no parallel anywhere except amongst peoples commonly termed Teutonic by the moderns, but known to the ancients as Keltoi, and amongst the Homeric Acheans, who, as I have elsewhere argued, were one of the tribes from Central Europe which had made their way down into Greece, bringing with them the use of iron, the round shield, the brooch, the practice of burning the dead, and the style of decoration known as the Geometric, all of which are also characteristic of the Umbrian tribes of Upper Italy. They likewise brought with them into Greece a higher ideal of wedded life and the doctrine of the 'sacred marriage' (*ἱερὸς γάμος*), identified by Dionysius[1] with the Roman *confarreatio*. The use of a cake in the ceremony presents a striking analogy to the wedding cake of Northern Europe.

Succession through males is alike characteristic of the Teutonic peoples, the Romans, and the Acheans, amongst whom each chief has succeeded his father, and expects his own son to succeed him. But it is only where monandry is firmly established that this mode of succession can flourish, for where there was a looseness in the relation between the sexes, as was the case with the aboriginal population of these islands, in Spain, in the Balearic islands, amongst the Illyrio-Thracian tribes, and amongst the aboriginal people of Greece and in the countries round the Aegean, owing to the uncertainty of the paternity of the offspring, succession must perforce be reckoned through the mother. At Rome, Agnation and Patria Potestas stand out prominently, and this we must ascribe to that element in the State which held marriage as a sacred bond, for it is hard to conceive the doctrine of male succession arising in the other section of the community with whom marriage was but a mere civil contract easily annulled at any moment.

If the Plebeians were the aboriginal Ligurians, it ought to be possible to produce evidence of female succession amongst both the aboriginal population of Latium, and also among undoubted Ligurians.

[1] *A. R.* ii. 25 *ἦν δὲ τοιόσδε ὁ νόμος· γυναῖκα γαμετὴν τὴν κατὰ γάμους ἱεροὺς συνελθοῦσαν ἀνδρὶ κοινωνὸν ἁπάντων εἶναι χρημάτων τε καὶ ἱερῶν ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ νομίμους οἱ παλαιοὶ γάμους Ῥωμαϊκῇ προσηγορίᾳ περιλαμβάνοντες φαρραχείους ἐπὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ φαρρός, ὃ καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ζέαν.*

In the first place Drances,[1] the friend and counsellor of Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, and who is especially bitter against Turnus, the king of the Rutuli, is described by Virgil as tracing his noble descent through his mother, not through his father, in itself a sufficient indication that Virgil, who had so wide a knowledge of ancient Italian lore, deliberately adopted this language, because he was fully aware of the ancient mode of reckoning descent amongst the indigenous people of Latium.

The story of the acquisition of the site of Marseilles by the Phoceans from the Ligurians proves that among the latter succession was through females. A Phocean merchant, who habitually traded with the local Ligurian chief, chanced to arrive on the very day on which the latter was holding a *Swayamvara*, to use the Sanskrit term, for his daughter. Her suitors were to be entertained by her father, and when they were all seated at the banquet, the girl was to enter bearing a cup of wine, which she was to present to the man of her choice. The chief asked his Greek guest to the feast. When Petta, for such was her name, entered the room, she handed the cup to the Phocean, and thereupon her father declared that her will should prevail. The descendants of Petta and her Phocean husband long continued amongst the leading families of Massalia,[2] just as several of the best families of Virginia have in their veins the blood of Pocahontas, the Indian princess.

Descent through females is thus proved both for the aboriginal folk of Latium and for the Ligurians of classical times. If, then, the Plebeians were Ligurians, they naturally looked on marriage very differently from the Sabine Patricians.

Disposal of the dead. We have seen above that inhumation was universally practised by the people of the Terramara culture, whom we hold to be Ligurians, whilst the Umbrian tribes regularly burned their dead, and we have also found evidence of the existence of both fashions in the recent excavations in the Roman Forum. Although cremation was regularly practised by the upper classes at Rome at the close of the Republic and under the early Empire, nevertheless the poorer classes buried their dead, partly, perhaps, because interment was cheaper than burning. But we must not regard poverty as the sole cause, since in India people of but scanty means will do their

[1] Virg. *Aen.* xi. 340-1:

genus huic materna superbum
nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat,

a reference which I owe to Prof. R. S. Conway.

[2] Aristotle, *Pol. of Massalia*, ap. Athen., 576 a.

best to provide a pyre of sufficient size to at least partially consume the corpse,[1] and we know from Pliny that some very old Roman families always continued to inter their dead. Sulla was the first of the Cornelian gens whose body was burned. Both Cicero[2] and Pliny[3] held that inhumation was the most ancient custom. In view of the mixed nature of the population of early Latium, we need not be surprised at the dual forms of disposing of the dead. The Siculi had overmastered the Aborigines of Latium, and the Aborigines later on expelled or subjugated the Siculi, whilst finally came the Sabines from Reate. The earliest inhabitants of Southern Italy, and the Siculi who had settled there and in Sicily, as well as the aboriginal Ligurians of Upper Italy, had all interred their dead, whilst on the other hand the Umbrians, who had advanced next after the Siculi, always practised cremation. But as the Sabines belonged to this later layer of population, we may safely conclude that it was with the Sabine element that cremation got into Rome.

We have no evidence for determining whether the Cornelii and the other ancient families who continued the practice of inhumation were Plebeians. But if it can be shown that a great Patrician gens, and that too of undoubted Sabine origin, cremated their dead, we shall have added another proof to our contention that the Patricians were Sabines. The famous family of the Appii Claudii, the haughtiest of all Patricians, were descended from the Sabine chief Attus Clausus, who on coming to Rome with his followers had been at once received by the Patricians into their ranks. This fact in itself points to the Patricians being Sabines, for otherwise it is hard to conceive why they should have thus at once admitted the Sabine new-comer into their order. But as we have distinct evidence for the burning of their dead by the Appii Claudii, we may conclude that this practice was Patrician, and therefore the Patricians were Sabines.

Armature. Before the Constitution of Servius Tullius, Patricians only served in the army. According to Festus[4] all who had a property rating of less than 120,000 asses = 10,000 libral asses = 100 cows,[5] were once described as 'unclassed' (*infra classem*), i.e. not in the *classis*, that is, not enrolled for military service. In old Latin *classis* = *exercitus*, the *army*, from which it would appear that in early days there was only one *classis*, that is, the body of full citizens, all others being described as *infra classem*, i. e. not permitted to bear arms. After the reforms of Servius there were five Classes. According

[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. p. 497.
[2] Cic. *Legg.* ii. 22, 56.
[3] *H. N.* vii. 187.
[4] Aul. Gell. x. 1, 4.
[5] Ridgeway, *Metallic Currency*, pp. 391–3.

to Dionysius and Livy [1] the First Class was equipped with bronze helmet, breastplate and greaves, and carried a round shield (ἀσπίς, *clipeus*), a spear, and a sword; the Second bore the oblong shield (θυρεός, *scutum*) instead of the round shield, and wore no breastplate; the Third also bore the *scutum*, and had neither breastplate nor greaves; the Fourth had the *scutum*, sword, and spear [2]; the Fifth bore only javelins (σαυνία) [3] and slings.

Thus it was only the First which had complete armour and bore the round shield, all the rest who had shields bearing the *scutum*. To the eighty centuries of the First Class were added eighteen centuries of *Equites*, but the Roman Equites [4] down to a late epoch bore a round shield with a central boss. But I have proved [5] that the round shield with the boss was essentially characteristic of Upper Europe, while the oblong shields, such as the Mycenean, the Boeotian, the old Arcadian, the *ancile* and the *scutum* were indigenous in the Mediterranean lands. It thus follows that the ninety-eight centuries of the First Class bore the characteristic shield of the Early Iron and Bronze Ages of Central and Upper Europe, whilst the inferior classes who wore only partial armour carried the *scutum* so distinctive of the South. These facts, even if we had no other evidence, would suggest that the First Class represented the ruling aristocracy in a community composed of conquerors and their subjects. But as the Umbrians carried the round shield, and the Sabines were Umbrians, and as the round shield was that borne by the Roman *classis*, which was composed wholly of Patricians down to the time of Servius, once more the inference is irresistible that the Patricians were Sabines.

Language. If we are right in following the traditions respecting the Latins, and the archaeological evidence, we must hold that the basis of the population of Latium, as well as that of all Upper Italy, was and is still Ligurian. But as the present writer has shown elsewhere [6] that it is the language of the conquered masses which ultimately prevails, and not that of the conquering minority, the Latin language was that of the Ligurian Plebeians and not that of the Sabine Patricians.

A brief examination of some of the linguistic phenomena of Latin and the Umbro-Sabellian languages will render this doctrine very probable.

[1] Dion. Hal. iv. 16–17; Livy, i. 43.

[2] According to Livy they only had a *hasta* and *uerutum*.

[3] According to Livy they only carried *fundas lapidesque missiles*.

[4] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. 468.

[5] Ibid., pp. 456–65.

[6] Ibid., pp. 647 sqq.

Latin represents original I.-E. *q* by *c* or *qu*, whilst Umbrian, Sabellian, and Oscan represent original *q* by *p*, e.g. Lat. *quatuor*, from which come such names as Quartus and the like; Umbrian and Oscan *petur** (cf. Gallic *petor*-ritum, '*four*-wheeler') = *quatuor*, from which come such names as *Petr*onius, *Petr*eius, *Petr*ilius; again, Latin has *quinque*, from which come such forms as Quinctius, Quintilis, Quintilius, and the like, whilst Umbrian and Oscan have *pumpe* (= *quinque*), from which come the forms Pontius (=*Pomp*tius), the name of the famous Samnite chief, *Pomp*eius, and *Pomp*ilius, the gentile name of Numa the Sabine king of Rome. But Latin, like Greek, shows sporadic instances of complete labialism, e.g. *lupus* instead of *lucus* (cf. Gk. λύκος, Sanskr. *vrikas*). But as *hirpus*, the Sabine and Samnite name for the wolf,[1] shows labialism, it has naturally been inferred that such forms as *lupus* were introduced into Latin from some of the Umbro-Sabellian tribes. I would go further and urge that it was the Sabines who brought such forms into Rome. But it has up to now been held by the best philologists that the Sabines did not fully labialize, but were a *Q* people. The chief ground for this assumption is that in Quirinus, the name of the Sabine deity, we find *qu*. On the other hand, I have just pointed out that in the name of Numa Pompilius, the Sabine, we have a regular labialized form, and although the sceptics may declare that no such king ever reigned at Rome, this does not invalidate the evidence as proof that the Romans believed that such forms as Pompilius were Sabine. Moreover, when we come to examine *Quirinus* itself we at once find strong reasons for believing that the form with *qu* was not employed by that people themselves, but was only a local pronunciation at Rome. We have seen above that the name Quirinus is connected with the Sabine town of Cures, and there is little doubt that the name means nothing more than the god of Cures. But *Cures* never shows a form with *q*, and what is still more to the purpose, the Greek writers on Roman history never represent *Quirinus* by such forms as Κουιρῖνος or Κοιρῖνος, representing Lat. *qu* by either κου- or κο-, as in Κούιντος, Κόιντος = *Quintus*, but always by Κυρῖνος. Again, the Greek writers[2] speak of the *Collis Quirinalis* as Κυρῖνος. These facts, combined with the name Cures itself, prove that the true Sabine form had no *qu*. Thus the principal argument that the Sabines were a *Q* folk falls to the ground, while the evidence from the name Pompilius remains unshaken.

Now as the Arcadians and Athenians, the autochthonous peoples of

[1] Servius, *ad Aen* xi. 785; cf. Conway, *Italic Dialects*, vol. i. pp. 200, 362.
[2] Strabo, v. 234 Κυρῖνος λόφος.

Greece, who certainly belonged to a melanochrous race found on the Mediterranean, had never spoken anything but a so-called Aryan tongue,[1] and as we have seen reasons for believing that the aboriginal race of Italy belonged to the same stock, it is only natural that the Ligurians should also have never spoken anything else than an Aryan language. We know little, indeed, respecting the speech of the Ligurians, but there is now good reason for believing that they spoke an Indo-European tongue. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville [2] has argued in favour of this view from the forms of geographical and ethnical names found in the lands which, according to tradition, were occupied by the Ligurians; for instance, the suffix *-sco* (*-usco-*, *usca-*, *-osco-*, *-osca-*, *-asco-*, *-asca-*); names like Isara (*Isère*), formed with the suffix *-ra*, and those like Druentia (*Druance*), formed with the suffix of the Indo-European present participle active. But the forms in *-ati-* are especially interesting for our present argument, e. g. Genuates (on an inscription of 117 B.C. found at Genoa in the heart of the Ligurian area), Langates, &c. Now these forms are exactly parallel to Arpinates, Ardeates, from the names of the Latin towns Arpinum and Ardea, and to the familiar pronominal forms *nostras*, *-atis*, *uestras*, *-atis*, &c. These corroborate strongly the tradition of Philistus that the Aborigines of Latium were Ligurians.

As purely philological arguments have too often perverted history, it is desirable to fortify the linguistic evidence further. Provence was never occupied by any but Ligurians, and the important ruins of Entremont (Inter montes) mark the site of what remained down to the Roman conquest the chief stronghold of the Saluvii, the powerful Ligurian confederation, which occupied almost the whole of Provence. Now as Caesar notices what must have been no more than a dialectic difference between the speech of Gallia Belgica and that of Gallia Celtica, it would be indeed strange if neither he nor any other Roman writer had remarked that Ligurian differed essentially from its neighbours, had it been, like Basque, a non-Aryan language.

Again, it cannot be shown that Provençal or any of the modern Italian dialects spoken in those parts of Upper Italy where the Ligurians and their descendants have always dwelt exhibit any non-Aryan element either in vocabulary or syntax. The silence of the Roman writers respecting the Ligurian language, though they often speak of Gallic forms, and the extraordinary rapidity with which Latin became the language of all Upper Italy and Provence, can only be explained on the hypothesis that the language of the Ligurians who formed the

[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 657 sqq.

[2] *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 186 sqq.

great mass of the population of all Upper Italy as well as of Provence was practically the same as that of the natives of Latium.

All that we now want is proof that Ligurian, like Latin, was a *K* or *Q* language.

Professor R. S. Conway has pointed out that with the suffix *-sco* is closely connected that in *-co*, both being very common in Central Italy, e. g. Volsci, Falisci, on the one hand, and Aurunci, Marruci, and Aricia on the other, whilst the forms in *-sco* are especially common in the region occupied certainly by the Ligurians and the Illyrian Veneti in historical times. On the other hand, he has shown that amongst the Samnitic tribes the suffix *-no* is almost universally in use to form ethnica, e.g. Hirpini, Vestini, Peligni, Lucani, in purely Samnite districts this suffix almost excluding any other, whereas in the centre of Italy and in Umbria it is crossed by the names ending in *-co* and *-ati*, and he holds that the forms in *-co* (*-sco*) belong to an earlier stratum, those in *-no* to a later stratum of population.[1] If this argument is pressed too closely we are involved in very serious linguistic and ethnological difficulties. For instance, an inscription found at Velitrae in the Volscian hills has *pis* = Lat. *quis*. Thus they are separated by their ethnicon Volsci from the Samnite tribes whose ethnica end in *-no*, but with the latter people the supposed Volsci are closely connected phonetically, for the Umbro-Sabellian group all labialize (e. g. Osco-Umbrian, *pod* = Lat. *quod*). When this paper was read Professor Conway showed that this difficulty could be got over, as the people who had written the inscription of Velitrae called themselves *Velestrom* (gen. plur.), while their ethnicon was later *Veliternus* (with *-no*), from which he would regard them as really a 'Safine' (Sabellian) settlement in Volscian territory.

It is therefore clear that we must be very cautious in assuming that ethnica in *-co*, which we meet in Roman literature, were the actual names used by the people themselves to whom they are applied. For example, the Greek writers speak of the Umbrians as *Ombrikoi*, whereas the Umbrians themselves probably never used any such form of their own name, since the people of Iguvium called themselves *Iguuini*, whilst those who called themselves Hellenes were termed Graeci by Italians who had added the *-co* suffix to the name *Graii*.

It is made almost certain that forms in *-co* (*-sco*) were especially used by the oldest stratum of Italian population, as well as by those who are known as Ligurians in classical times, and we have thus

[1] Though this may be true in Central Italy, it cannot be laid down as an absolute rule, for the oldest people in Sicily, the Sicani, have a *No* ethnicon.

added another link between the Aborigines of Latium and the Ligurians.

It now only remains to show that the Ligurians of classical times represented Indo-European *q* by *k* or *qu*. When this paper was read Professor Conway cited the name Quiamelius as a proof that that people were a *Q* folk, and this fact is quite in accord with what we know of the remains of the ancient languages of Gaul. We have seen that the Ligurians down to the Roman conquest formed the population of Provence, and there is much evidence to show that they (often termed the 'alpine race') formed, and still form, the chief element in the population of Central France. Now we have seen above that the Keltoi properly so called all used *p* for I.-E. *q*, standing thus in contrast to the Gaelic-speaking melanochrous Aborigines of the British Isles. For example, Gallic *arapennis* (French *arpent*) = Irish *air-cenn* = head-land (from *cenn* = head). Yet at least one tribe in France, and that a very important one, the Sequani, shows by its name that it was a *Q* people. It is now fairly clear that there once extended from Italy across France and into the British Isles a stratum of population (probably the earliest) which differed essentially both in physical characteristics as well as in their phonetics from the peoples from Central Europe who from before the dawn of history had kept pressing over the Alps into Italy and the Balkan peninsula, and across the Rhine into Gaul and even into Britain and remote Ierne. This oldest stratum was closely connected with the aboriginal population of the Balkan peninsula, who, as I have shown elsewhere, never spoke any other than an Indo-European language. Again, although it has hitherto been universally held that the Iberians spoke a non-Aryan tongue, because the Basques who occupy a portion of North-West Spain still continue to do so, yet when we come to examine the evidence it is more probable that the Iberians properly so called, who bordered on the Ligurians in North-Eastern Spain and who are said to have extended at one time as far north as the Loire, did not differ essentially from the Ligurians. For instance, we have just seen that proper names in *-sco* and *-co* are beyond all doubt essentially Indo-European suffixes in the Ligurian parts of France and over all Upper and Central Italy. But when we turn to ancient Spain we are confronted with the same suffixes and the closely allied *-con-* in many of the most famous place-names; e. g. Osca (mod. *Huesca*), Malaca (*Malaga*), Tarraco (*Tarragona*), whilst the same appears in the adjective *asturcones* the ancient native name for the horses of Asturia. Moreover,

according to Thucydides [1], the Sicani who formed the oldest stratum in the population of Sicily were Iberians from the river Sicanus in North-East Spain, whence they had been driven by the Ligyes.[2] Now as in historical times the Sicani not only continued to hold the western parts of the island, but also formed the chief element in the population of those parts occupied by the Siculi and later on by the Greeks, it would be strange if no ancient writer, either Greek or Roman, had referred to their language as especially barbaric, had it been a non-Aryan speech. In Eastern Sicily the Sicani had been mastered first by the Siculi, who had crossed from Italy, and later on by the Greeks, and they had made common cause with the latter against their old oppressors, just as the Aborigines of Upper Italy and Latium are said to have helped the new-comers from Greece against the Umbrians and Siculi. The Siculi had enslaved many of the Sicani, and as there was a serf population at Syracuse called Cyllurii, we may assume with some probability that these were the Sicanian bondsmen of the Siculi dispossessed by the Greeks.[3] It is almost certain that this servile class later on formed the chief factor in the democracy of Syracuse. It is very significant that when the democracy gained the upper hand there appears on the coins of Syracuse the figure of a warrior with the legend *Leucaspis.* But we are told by Diodorus[4], himself a Sicilian, that this Leucaspis was an ancient Sicanian hero, whose shrine was venerated at Syracuse. But as it was the democracy who placed on the coins a Sicanian hero, instead of some Greek type, we may infer that those who thus worshipped and honoured the old Sicanian hero were themselves Sicanian in blood. But if the larger part of the Syracusan population had spoken a non-Ayran tongue, the dialect of Syracuse would certainly have been deeply tinged with a foreign element; it would then be strange if there were in Greek literature no allusion to such a phenomenon, more especially when we recall the many references to the barbaric speech and barbaric Greek pronunciation of Scythians, Thracians, and Persians which occur in Aristophanes, and the similar references to the strange tongue of

[1] vi. 2; Strabo, 224, 27 sqq. (citing Ephorus). Strabo says that down to his own time Sicani, Siculi, and Morgetes held the interior of the island. It is most improbable that all these could have learnt Greek or Latin by his time had their language been non-Aryan.

[2] It may even be that their name is only a slight variation of that of the Sequani of France. The difference in the first vowel is not essential, since in Greek proper names older ε was replaced by ι, e. g. Σικυών = earlier Σεκυών.

[3] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 261–2.

[4] Diod. Sic. iv. 23, 5

the Carthaginians and to the local dialect of Praeneste in the plays of Plautus.[1] The absence of all such references is best explained, as in the case of Ligurian, by the hypothesis that the language of the Sicanians was very close to that of their Greek and Roman masters, whilst the same explanation fits well the fact that the Latin language got a hold on all Eastern Spain with an astonishing rapidity after the Roman conquest.

Two main objections will be raised to my treatment of the indigenous melanochrous people of Greece, Italy, Sicily, and of a large part of Spain as Indo-Europeans. It will be urged that all these peoples belong to the 'Mediterranean race', and that as the Libyans, Egyptians, and Semites all belong to that race, and all these speak non-Aryan tongues, the melanochrous peoples on the north side of the Mediterranean must likewise have spoken non-Aryan languages. It might as well be maintained that the Finns, who speak a non-Aryan tongue, and the Scandinavians who speak Indo-European, were originally all of one stock because they are all blonde. But the physical anthropologists have assumed that similarity of physical type means identity of race. Yet this assumption does not bear the test of scientific examination. It assumes that only those who are sprung from a common stock can be similar in physical structure and coloration, and it entirely leaves out of sight the effect of environment in changing racial types, and that too in no long time. The change in the type of the American of New England from that of his English ancestors, and his approximation to the hatchet-face and thin scraggy beard of the Indian whom he has dispossessed, have long been remarked, whilst the Boers of South Africa in less than 150 years have quite lost the old Dutch build, and become a tall 'weedy' race. The effect of climatic conditions is very patent amongst the native peoples of the New World. The Iroquois of the temperate parts (lat. 40°–45°) of North America were a tall, light-complexioned race, but as we keep moving south and approach the equator their kindred tribes grow darker in complexion and more feeble in physique, except where they live at a considerable altitude, for of course altitude acts in the same way as latitude. When once we pass below the equator the physique keeps steadily improving, until we come to the Pampas Indians, a vigorous race, who defied all the efforts of the Spaniards to subdue them, and finally we meet the Patagonians (lat. 40°–53°), a fine, tall, light-complexioned race, who form in the south the counter-

[1] *Poen.* v. 2, 17 sqq. 'Gugga est homo', &c.; *Truc.* iii. 2, 22 'Ut Praenestinis conia est ciconia'.

part of the Iroquois and their closely allied tribes in the north. The same law can be seen at work in Europe. Starting from the Mediterranean we meet in the lower parts a melanochrous race, but gradually, as we advance upwards, the population as a whole is growing less dark, until finally along the shores of the Baltic we meet the tallest and most light-complexioned race in the world. I have argued elsewhere that this white race of the north is of the same ancestry as the melanochrous people of the northern shores of the Mediterranean. As the ice-sheet receded mankind kept pressing farther north, and gradually, under changed climatic conditions, the type changed from area to area, though they all still continued to speak the same Indo-European tongue, but with dialectic variations, these also being no doubt due to the physical changes produced by environment. If we turn from man to the other animals we find complete demonstration of this doctrine. For instance, the conditions which have produced a blonde race on the Baltic have most certainly produced the white hare, white bears, and the tendency in the ptarmigan to turn white in winter, whilst in the same regions of Europe and Asia the indigenous horses were of a dun colour with a constant tendency to white.

Indeed, if we follow the Equidae from Northern Asia to the Cape of Good Hope[1] we find that every belt has its own particular type, changes in osteology as well as in coloration taking place from region to region. First Prejvalsky's horse, a dun-coloured animal with little trace of stripes, then come the Asiatic asses: first the Dzeggetai of Mongolia, a fawn-coloured animal, the under parts being Isabella-coloured, then comes the Kiang of the upper Indus valley (seldom found at a lower altitude than 10,000 feet), rufous-brown with white underparts, whilst, as might be expected from its mountain habitat, its hind-quarters are much more developed in length and strength than the Onager of the plains of Asia. The Onager, Onager Indicus, and Hemippus are found in all the great plains of the Panjab, Afghanistan, Western India, Baluchistan, Persia, and Syria. All these are lighter in colour than the Kiang, the typical Onager being a white animal with yellow blotches on the side, neck, and head. All these Asiatic asses are distinguished by the absence of any shoulder-stripe, though they occasionally show traces of stripes on the lower parts of the legs. The southern asses just described in their greyer colour and smaller hoofs approximate to the wild asses of Africa, whilst it is maintained that in their cry as well as in their colour the Kiang

[1] Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, pp. 27 sqq.

and the Dzeggetai come closer to the horse, whose next neighbours they are.

As soon as we pass to Africa we find the ass of Nubia and Abyssinia showing a shoulder-stripe, and frequently very strongly defined stripes on the legs, the ears being longer than those of the Onager. More to the south comes the Somali ass, which differs from the last-mentioned by being greyer in colour, by the entire absence of a shoulder-stripe, by a very narrow dorsal stripe, and especially in the numerous black markings on both fore and hind legs, by smaller ears, and by a longer mane. Next we meet the Zebras. First comes the magnificent Grèvy zebra of Somaliland, Shoa, and British East Africa, its southern limit, according to Mr. Neumann, being the river Tana. It is completely striped. But the coloration of the specimens from Shoa differs from that of those from Somaliland, and probably from those of East Africa. The Grèvy zebra has its hoofs rounded, but its ears are asinine. In the region north of the Tana the Burchelline group of zebras overlaps the Grèvy, and though it differs essentially in form, habits, and shape of its hoofs from the Grèvy, some of those in the neighbourhood of Lake Barringo show 'gridiron' markings like those on the Grèvy zebra, whilst, like the latter, they also possess functional pre-molars.[1] All the zebras of the equatorial region are striped to the hoof, but when we reach the Transvaal the Burchelline zebra, known as Chapman's, is divesting itself of stripes on its legs, whilst the ground colour is getting less white. Further south the true Burchell zebra of the Orange River has completely lost the stripes on its legs and under surface, whilst south of the Orange River the now extinct Quagga had not only begun to lose the stripes on its hinder part, but in Daniell's specimen they survived only as far as the withers, the animal having the upper surface bay and a tail like that of a horse. All specimens of Quagga show a rounded hoof like that of a horse.

In the Quagga of lat. 30°–32° S. we practically have a bay horse corresponding to the bay Libyan horse developed in lat. 30°–32° N.[2] We have seen that the asses of South-West Asia approximate in colour to the African, though it does not necessarily follow that these latter are more closely related to the former than they are to the Kiang. Again, though there are very strong specific differences between the Grèvy and Burchell zebras, met in the region of Lake Barringo, there is a curious approximation not only in colour but also in the teeth between those two species. With these facts before us there can be

[1] Ridgeway, op. cit., pp. 11, 146. [2] Ridgeway, op. cit., pp. 70 sqq.

no doubt that climate is a most potent factor not only in coloration but also in osteology.

Now whilst there is certainly a peculiar physical type common to all the peoples round the Mediterranean, it by no means follows that all those peoples are from the same stock. On the contrary, the analogy from man in other parts of the world as well as that of the Equidae suggests that the resemblance between the Berbers who speak Hamitic, the Greeks who speak Aryan, and the Jews who spoke Semitic, is simply due to the fact that those peoples, from having long dwelt under practically similar conditions in the Mediterranean basin, have gradually acquired that physical similarity which has led to the assumption that they have a common ancestry, and that they accordingly form but a single race. There is now no difficulty in holding that the melanochrous peoples of Greece, Italy, and Sicily never spoke any but an Aryan tongue.

The argument based on the analogy of the Equidae and on that of the natives of the New World may be applied to the peoples of Africa. Next to the Mediterranean lie the Berbers and their Hamitic congeners; these shade off into other peoples south of them, but this is not altogether due to intermarriage, as is commonly held, but is probably to be explained as due in large part to climatic conditions. The Bantus, who are said to have originated in the Galla country and to have spread thence, are now regarded by the chief authorities as resulting from the intermixture of Hamitic peoples and Negroes. But, on the grounds just stated, I would suggest that it is more rational to regard them as having been evolved in the area lying between the Hamitic peoples on the north and Negroes on the south, and this also explains the existence of those cattle-keeping tribes which lie west of the Nile stretching across Northern Nigeria, who border on the Berbers, but yet differ from them, and border also on Negroes, but differ from them also. South of these tribes come the Negroes, the true children of the Equatorial regions. The Bantu is able to live in elevated equatorial areas, and he has burst his way down to the sub-tropical and temperate parts of South Africa, where he especially flourishes in the highlands, thus showing that his race was originally evolved under like conditions. The Bantu found in the south the Hottentots, who are especially distinguished by steatopygy, a feature which has led some to identify them with the primitive steatopygous race supposed to have once dwelt in Southern Europe, Malta, and Egypt, and to have left witness to their characteristic in their representations of themselves. But we are again tempted to suggest that the occurrence of steatopygy in two areas so wide

apart is not due to an ethnical migration, but rather to similar climatic conditions producing similar characteristics. I have elsewhere[1] argued that the blonde Berbers, who are especially found in the highlands of North Morocco and in the Atlas, are not survivals from invasions of Vandals or Goths, as has commonly been held, but rather owe their fair complexion and light-coloured eyes to the circumstance that they were cradled in a cool mountainous region, and not along the low-lying borders of the Mediterranean, like their dark-coloured relations, whose language they share. If then some of those who speak Hamitic are fair, whilst others are dark, there is no reason why some of the peoples who speak Indo-European might not be dark, whilst others are blonde.

Next we come to the second objection. It will be urged that in the Alpine regions there has been, since Neolithic times, a brachycephalic race, also found in Central France and in the British Isles, whither it is supposed they came in the Bronze Age. It has been a fundamental matter of faith that this round-headed race came from Asia, the home of brachycephalism, and that they were accordingly Mongolian and spoke a non-Aryan language. Now as these folk dwelt in the region where we find the Ligurians of historical times, it has been argued that the Ligurians were a non-Aryan people.

But it is impossible to find any hard and fast lines between this Alpine race and the peoples north and south of them in culture and in sociology. For that reason, when treating of the peoples of the Alps, I did not take any account of the difference in the cranial measurements. In 1906, at the British Association, I maintained that this difference of skull type did not mean any racial difference, and on the analogy of the changes in the osteology of the Equidae I urged that the roundness of the skulls was simply due to environment. Thus the horses of the Pampas when brought up into the mountainous regions of Chili and Peru rapidly change their physical type. Physical anthropologists have already held that the round head of the Mongolian has been developed in the high altitude of the Altai. If that be the case, there is no reason why a similar phenomenon should not have taken place in the Alpine regions, in Albania, in Anatolia, and wherever else brachycephaly has been found.

The explanations here given are based on undoubted facts drawn from the animal kingdom, and no arguments save those based upon like ground can upset them, for all *a priori* reasonings in such cases are mere futilities.

Let us now return to Gaul. As the Iberians in Roman times

[1] Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. p. 286 sqq.

occupied all South-Western France, as far as the Garonne, even after the great Celtic invasion before the seventh century, when the Bituriges became the dominant power, there seems no doubt that they formed the entire population of the region known to Caesar as Aquitania, with the exception of the one district held by the Celtic Bituriges (mod. *Berri*). But the spelling Aquitania is no mere Romanized form of a native name, such as Quirinus, for the Greek writers[1] give Ἀκουιτανοί and Ἀκυιτανοί, which shows that the name, when met by Greek travellers, such as Posidonius (*circa* B.C. 90), had a *q* sound. Now, as the Celts, such as the Bituriges, were not a *Q* folk, the name Aquitani must be that of the Iberians themselves. Thus the Iberians of this region at least are shown to be a *Q* people like the Sequani and the Ligurians of Northern Italy.

It may then be said, Who were the Basques, if not Iberians? The present writer has argued that the Basques are a remnant of an invasion from North Africa, the relics of which were able to maintain themselves in the fastnesses of the Western Pyrenees. Nor is this without historical parallel. In A.D. 710 a Saracen host, consisting largely of North Africans, invaded Spain, and occupied for centuries a large part of that country, leaving indelible traces of their tongue in Spanish place-names and in the Spanish language. There is, therefore, not the slightest reason why there should not have been a far older invasion by a non-Aryan people from North Africa. It is just as absurd to argue that, because there is in the Western Pyrenees a non-Aryan language, the people who speak that language must have been the Aborigines of all Spain, as it would be to maintain that, because there are very many such forms in Spanish as Guadalquiver, Quadiana, alcalde, albarcoquero, there had once been an aboriginal Semitic population over all Spain.

It is commonly held that the dark-complexioned people who are chiefly found in the western parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and who in Scotland and Ireland still speak Gaelic, are of the same stock as the Iberians of Spain. But as the latter have been universally assumed to have been non-Aryan, and as it has also been assumed that all Aryans were light-complexioned, there is a concensus of opinion that the indigenous melanochrous Gaelic-speaking people of those islands are non-Aryan and have learned Gaelic from some conquering Aryan race. But it is a proved law that conquerors, unless they come in great numbers and bring also with them wives of their own race, always merge into the conquered, and their children adopt the speech of their native mothers. As this law has been especially exemplified in the history

[1] Strabo, 14, 24 (Didot), &c.

of England, where the Normans adopted the speech of their subjects, and in Ireland where the same people became *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis*, and as the same fate befell Cromwell's Ironsides planted in Tipperary without English women, it is incredible that the aboriginal melanochrous people of Ireland should have so completely changed their language that no vestige of a non-Aryan tongue is discoverable either in vocabulary or syntax even in the most remote western isles. The material remains of the Stone and Bronze Ages show no sudden break as if any large body of invaders sufficient to cause such a revolution had entered either island.

The defenders of the non-Aryan theory rely on two points,[1] (1) sociology and (2) supposed linguistic survivals.

When the study of Sociology first sprung up in the last century it at once became a fundamental doctrine that the Aryans had always been strictly patriarchal, and that polyandry and descent through women was unknown amongst them. Though this view has received many rude shocks in later days, Professor Zimmer[2] bases on it an argument that the indigenous people of Britain were non-Aryan. It is well known from the ancient writers that the Picts were polyandrous, and that succession was consequently through females. Again, it is certain both from the Irish literature, and also from statements of external writers, such as Strabo, that the Irish were polyandrous, and that they almost certainly traced descent through females. Accordingly Professor Zimmer argues that the indigenous race was non-Aryan. But McLennan has long since pointed out that descent through women was the ancient law at Athens, and the present writer has shown[3] that the Athenians and Arcadians, the autochthonous melanochrous people of Greece, never spoke any save an Aryan tongue. Moreover, it has been shown above that the Ligurians, who are now generally admitted to have spoken an Aryan language, had descent through women, whilst I have also pointed out that there is good evidence that the ancient Latins, who have generally been taken as typical Aryans, had the same system. In view of these facts it is useless to urge that because the Picts of Scotland and the ancient Irish had that system of succession these peoples must have been non-Aryan.

The linguistic argument still remains. Sir John Rhys believes that in the Pictish inscriptions of Scotland and in certain Ogam inscriptions found in Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland there is evidence that the aborigines of these islands spoke an agglutinative language

[1] Rhys, *The Welsh People*, pp. 11 sqq. [2] *Das Mutterrecht der Pikten.*
[3] *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 647 sqq.

like Basque, and 'that while that people learned the vocabulary of an Aryan language, it continued the syntax of its previous speech.' Mr. J. Morris Jones supports the general doctrine of an aboriginal non-Aryan language, but he holds that this supposed tongue was not connected with Basque, which he supposes to be Ugro-Finnish, but rather with Berber and ancient Egyptian, supporting his view by a comparison of certain grammatical phenomena found in Middle and Modern Irish and in Welsh with certain constructions in ancient Egyptian. Professor Burrows[1] not only accepts without reserve the arguments of Sir John Rhys and Mr. Jones for the existence of a non-Aryan element in the British Isles, but he finds one of his chief arguments for the non-Aryan character of the indigenous people of Greece and the Aegean in Mr. Morris Jones' 'acute study of the pre-Aryan elements in the Welsh and Irish languages, and the remarkable resemblances he has traced between their syntax and that of Berber and Egyptian'.

It may at once be pointed out that Mr. Jones admits that the Aborigines must have borrowed the full Aryan tense system, a fact in itself sufficient to raise grave doubts as to the validity of any arguments based on supposed fundamental grammatical differences. For we know that in all cases where an Aryan language has certainly been taken over by non-Aryans the tense system is invariably broken up. No better example is needed than ordinary 'pigeon English'. But the supposed taking over of the full Aryan tense system by the non-Aryan aborigines of this island is rendered all the more miraculous from the circumstance that Sir John Rhys[2] holds that his 'celticans' who spoke Goidelic 'came over not later than the great movements which took place in the Celtic world of the Continent in the sixth and fifth centuries before our era', that the Brythons 'came over to Britain between the time of Pytheas and that of Julius Caesar', and that the Brythons were not likely to come in contact on any large scale with the aborigines 'before they had been to a considerable extent Celticized'. He therefore assumes that it was possible for the aborigines to have been so completely Celticized as to have adopted the Aryan tense system as well as the Aryan vocabulary in its fullness in the interval between the sixth or fifth century B.C. and the second century B.C. English has been the master speech in this island for very many centuries, and that, too, when reading and writing have been commonly practised; yet Gaelic still survives, whilst Welsh not only survives but flourishes. It is therefore simply incredible that any such complete transformation as

[1] *The Discoveries in Crete*, p. 194 (text and note). [2] Op. cit., p. 11.

that which he postulates could have taken place in three or four centuries in an age when writing and literature can be hardly said to have existed in these islands. Let us now briefly analyse the evidence. Sir John Rhys firmly believes that the Pictish inscriptions are in a non-Aryan tongue, and he relies on these inscriptions as giving the key to the Ogam inscriptions to which I have just referred, 'in all of which he sees traces of an agglutinative language like Basque.'

He himself admits that 'the Pictish question is rendered philologically difficult by the scantiness of the remains of the Pictish language', and that 'it would seem to have been rapidly becoming overloaded with loan-words from Goidelic and Brythonic when we first hear anything about it'. Thus 'some have been led to regard Pictish as a kind of Gaelic, and some as a dialect akin to Welsh'.[1] This is but natural, seeing that the only Pictish words about which we have any sure knowledge, such as Peanfahel[2] (which in the Pictish dialect of Fortrenn was the name of a place called by the English *Penneltun*) are good Aryan words. Though Professor Rhys thinks that the residuum of words in these inscriptions which cannot be explained as Aryan is sufficient to justify a firm belief that the language was non-Aryan, he admits that 'the whole group of inscriptions is a very small one, and it shows the manifold influence of Gaelic and Norse, especially in Shetland, for Pictish cannot have become extinct for some time after the earlier visits of the Norsemen to our coasts'. Now let us test the value of these inscriptions and fragments of inscriptions as a basis for linguistic speculation. Sir John Rhys tells us that 'amongst those inscriptions there are two or three which may be said to be fairly legible; and one of them is punctuated word by word. Nevertheless the adherents to the view that Pictish is Celtic and Aryan have in vain been challenged to produce a convincing translation. . . . This being so, it is not too much to say that the theory of the non-Aryan origin of the Pictish language holds the field at present.'[3] As there is but one inscription in which the words are divided by interpuncts, in it alone are we sure even of the actual words. Now Professor Rhys rests his case on the ground that no champion of the Aryan theory has yet made a 'convincing' translation of this inscription. By a parity of reasoning he must believe that many inscriptions in Oscan and other ancient Italic dialects, as well as the now famous archaic inscription recently found in the Roman Forum, are all in a non-Aryan

[1] *The Welsh People*, p. 15. [2] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, i. 12.
[3] Op. cit., p. 16.

tongue. The fact is that the philologists in the naughtiness of their hearts presume to interpret any inscription by mere etymological analysis. Yet the truth remains that where the scholar has no lexicon or tradition to aid him he is helpless in unravelling texts or inscriptions with any certainty, even in languages closely cognate to his own or to those with which he is familiar. Much of Aristophanes would be unintelligible to us were it not for the oft-abused scholiasts, whilst without the Brahmanical tradition and Sayana's commentary the *Rig-Veda* would be hopelessly obscure. Again, though Umbrian is closely related to Latin, and though in the Iguvine Tables we have documents of considerable length, yet a large part of the translation is conjectural, whilst the same may be said of the translation of the 'Duenos' inscription found at Rome, and the Forum inscription already mentioned has hitherto baffled all attempts to explain it, though the script is clear and distinct. Now as in only one Pictish inscription are the words divided, it seems rash to frame any theory respecting the grammatical character of the language, more especially as Sir John Rhys admits that at the period when the Pictish inscriptions were written the language was completely broken up by external influences, and this being so, it seems still more rash to use them as 'a key' for the interpretation of Cornish, Welsh, and Irish Ogams. Though Professor Burrows accepts Sir John Rhys' argument, based on the fact that no 'convincing' translation has yet been made of the Pictish inscription just mentioned, he himself admits [1] that Professor Conway's analysis of the Eteocretan inscriptions from Praesus makes 'it not improbable that their language is an Indo-European one', and yet no one up to the present has made anything like a convincing translation of them. He therefore cannot regard Sir John Rhys' reasoning as valid.

Rhys cites [2] an Ogam inscription from Carnarvon, read as FILI LOVERNII ANATEMORI, and another from Cornwall, *Cnegumi Fili Genaius*, which he admits are meant to be Latin, whilst in another from Pembrokeshire we read in Latin ETTERNI FILI VICTOR; yet another occurs in Carmarthenshire, reading in Latin AVITORIA FILIA CVNIGNI, and in Gaelic *Inigena Cunigni Avittoriges*. From Ireland he cites an Ogam at Dunloe near Killarney *Maqui Ttal maqui Vorgos maqui mucoi Toicac*, and another from Omagh *Dotoatt maqui Nan* . . . In the inscriptions from Wales and Cornwall he thinks that the Latin word *fili* (son) 'is treated as the crude stem of the word', and he urges that 'this is not the syntax of an Aryan language'. But it will be observed that he does not cite a single

[1] Op. cit., p. 151.
[2] *The Welsh People*, pp. 17, 18.

instance where Latin is not in use. It is therefore clear that we have in those inscriptions not evidence of non-Aryan speech, but simply instances of the 'pigeon'-Latin then in use amongst the Romanized Britons. Nor is the evidence from Ireland a whit stronger. In the absence of a fully expressed genitive termination in both places in each inscription he again sees traces of agglutination. But as the final syllables had practically disappeared from Irish when the Irish glosses were written, the inscriptions cited were cut when the old final syllables were beginning to disappear.

Nor can it be said that Mr. Morris Jones[1] has been more successful in his comparisons of Irish and Welsh with ancient Egyptian. He admits that Irish and Welsh had the full Aryan tense system, a thing in itself strange if there was a great indigenous non-Aryan population who were mastered (as Sir John Rhys[2] supposes) by small numbers of 'Celtican' invaders. Mr. Jones has to rely on the following. (1) *The order of words in the sentence.* He says that in any Aryan language the verb usually comes last, but in Welsh and Irish it usually comes first. Yet there is the well-known Greek construction, the *schema pindaricum*, in which the verb always comes first. (2) *The use of the verb always in the third person singular*, or, in other words, the impersonal verb. But ancient Latin shows a very great tendency to impersonal verbs, whilst they are likewise a familiar feature in Greek. Professor Burrows at least might have remembered 'sic itur ad astra'. (3) *Periphrastic conjugation.* Yet this tendency is already seen at work in Sanskrit and ancient Greek and Latin, and because modern Irish and Welsh have developed this tendency, they are no more to be considered non-Aryan than Sanskrit, which even Professor Burrows will hardly regard as having a substrate like ancient Egyptian. (4) *The rule in Celtic that a qualifying adjective or a qualifying noun in the genitive case comes after the noun.* But Mr. Jones and Professor Burrows forget that the Romans said *Populus Romanus* and *lingua Latina*, and not *Romanus populus* and *Latina lingua.* The truth is that they have set up hard and fast rules for the Aryan languages which are at variance with the facts, and then they proceed to show that Welsh and Irish do not conform to these imaginary laws, but agree rather with ancient Egyptian and modern Berber. Finally, the comparison between the Welsh preposition *yn* and the ancient Egyptian *em* recalls a famous analogy between Macedon and Monmouth. Professor Burrows and Mr. Jones have reverted to the methods of the old philologists who, on the strength of similar comparisons, derived Welsh and Irish from Hebrew, the

[1] Op. cit., pp. 617 sqq. [2] Op. cit., p. 13.

language spoken, as they believed, in the Garden of Eden. We may therefore dismiss as futile the arguments urged in favour of a non-Aryan population in these islands, for the descent through females is proved for admittedly Aryan peoples, and the linguistic evidence derived from a single Pictish inscription, from Welsh and Cornish inscriptions in dog Latin, from Irish Ogams in which case-flexion is disappearing, and from the supposed variations from Aryan syntax in Welsh and Irish fail not simply as proofs, but even as indications of non-Aryan syntax.

Professor Burrows,[1] the latest defender of the non-Aryan character of the indigenous race of the Aegean, writes as follows :—'Grant with most ethnologists that practically the whole basin of the Mediterranean was inhabited in Neolithic times by a dark-skinned, long-headed race; that this race possesses extraordinary persistence, and, in spite of constant invasions and conquests, remains the basis of the present population in Spain, Italy, Greece, and Egypt; that it is the most gifted race in the world, and that the artistic impulse, wherever we find it in the area which it inhabits, has been due to it. Grant all this, and we are little nearer solving what is the really interesting part of the question—at what times and under what influence its various branches developed their special characteristics and their widely different languages. One hypothesis only can we reject with confidence, that part, namely, of Professor Ridgeway's theory, which combines the two propositions, that the creators of the Aegean civilization were indigenous and unmixed from the earliest times to the end of the Bronze Age, and that they spoke, or rather, we should say, evolved the Greek language.[2] It could only be justified by the

[1] *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 145–6.

[2] Though Prof. Burrows adopts, with the exception of language, all the leading conclusions in my *Early Age of Greece* (1902), that the creators of the Aegean culture were the indigenous dark-skinned race of that area, that at the close of the Bronze Age invaders came down from the north, that they brought with them the use of iron, the round shield, the practice of cremation, the geometric style of ornament, and the brooch, this is the only place where he refers to any one of them as mine; whilst he attributes to Dr. Hoernes (writing in 1905) my doctrine that spiral ornament could originate anywhere without direct contact with the Aegean, and to Mr. D. G. Hogarth (also 1905) my doctrine that the renaissance of art in Classical Greece was due to the aboriginal artistic element in the population. He goes still further. In my *Early Age* (pp. 304–5) I wrote: 'What we have already remarked on the overlapping of the Bronze and Iron Ages applies to the facts connected with the history of the early Greek sword'; and 'that iron and bronze swords of the same form were in use at the same time is shown thus by the actual remains found; and this harmonizes completely with the evidence of Homer where we learn that Euryalus the Phaeacian presented to Odysseus a bronze sword', and 'the man who could not afford iron

assumption that the original centre of the diffusion of the Indo-European group of languages was the shores of the Mediterranean, and that the dialect which was afterwards to grow into Greek was left stranded there at a remote period. The linguistic and historical improbabilities of such a theory would on general grounds put it out of court, even if we do not see in isolated languages, such as Basque and Finnish, and certain place-names and other primitive features in the Greek language itself, traces of a pre-Aryan element in Europe.' Elsewhere[1] he says :—'It is difficult not to admit with the anthropologists that racially the Aegean as a whole, mainland as well as islands, originally belonged, and to a large extent still belongs, to the dark Mediterranean race,' and he adds, 'the similarity of pre-hellenic place-names in the islands and on both sides of the Aegean confirms the evidence of racial type. If we once admit that it is improbable that Minoan Crete was Indo-European, the termination in -nth, which occurs there as much as on the mainland, can scarcely be Indo-European either.'

Professor Burrows, with practically all other archaeologists, has adopted my theory that the great culture of the Aegean was the outcome of the dark-skinned race domiciled in that area from the Neolithic period, and that at the end of the Bronze Age came invaders from the north who brought with them the use of iron, the round shield, the practice of cremation, the geometric style of ornament, and the use of brooches. It is only my linguistic theory—that this indigenous race spoke Indo-European—that he 'rejects with confidence' on the grounds just cited. I may at once point out that whilst at p. 145-8 he gives the foremost place to 'the linguistic improbabilities' of my theory, and assumes that certain pre-hellenic place-names are non-Aryan, some fifty pages later his only proof of the non-Aryan character of these place-names is the assumption that the people who used them were non-Aryan. No wonder then that his confidence began to flag, for he writes (but in a footnote) 'on the linguistic evidence alone there is much to be said for the other [my] view'.[2]

Professor Burrows adopts the propositions in which I showed for the first time that the Aegean culture was not due to any extraneous

had to be satisfied with bronze.' In the face of those explicit statements of which he was well aware, as he refers to this page of my book, and had a correspondence with me about it (see p. 174, footnote), he has the effrontery to charge me with holding that 'the Homeric swords and spears 666 were all of iron' (p. 214), and proceeds triumphantly to confute me by citing the evidence for the overlapping of iron and bronze swords furnished by the graves of East Crete (since my book appeared) in complete confirmation of my views.

[1] Op. cit., p. 197. [2] Op. cit., p. 198.

influence—that the whole basin of the Mediterranean was inhabited in Neolithic times by a dark-skinned race, that this race has persisted there down to the present time, and that it is the most artistic race in the world—but he bases on them two wholly unsupported assumptions, (1) that no brunette people can be Indo-European, and (2) that no Indo-European people can be artistic. The first of these assumptions I have shown to be completely unwarranted in the preceding part of this paper, for it was shown that human races when placed in new environments, within a comparatively short time change their physical characteristics. It was also shown that the aboriginal people of Italy whom Professor Burrows assumes to be non-Aryan were Indo-European, whilst I have made it probable that the Iberians, whom he likewise assumes to have been non-Aryan, were also Indo-European. With Professor Burrows' further assumption that the artistic gifts of the Greeks preclude them from being Indo-European I will now deal.

All members of a family are not equally endowed, and I have already pointed out that the people of the Aegean were much more gifted than their kinsfolk in Italy and Spain. When treating of the Neolithic remains found in South Russia, which he holds to belong to a branch of the Mediterranean race, Professor Burrows remarks that[1] 'it was natural that the farther the race spread from its original home the weaker it grew, and the less it profited by the advances in material civilization that were being made by those of its members who had kept in touch with the empires of the East'. But if the 'Mediterranean race', as Professor Burrows thinks, gradually lost its artistic powers the further it advanced up into South Russia and South Central Europe, it follows, from his own admission, that when once it had crossed the great mountain chain and had plunged into the dark forests of Upper Central Europe, having now to battle with rigours of climate and conditions unknown to its kindred left behind in the Aegean basin, it would not so much lose but rather not develop the great artistic capacity evolved by its kinsfolk in the kindlier environment of the Aegean. So much then for Professor Burrows' two main assumptions.

I shall now deal with his linguistic arguments, an examination of which will show how well founded were his own belated misgivings respecting them. He relies (1) on the occurrence of the suffix -nth- in certain proper names, which occur on both sides of the Aegean, e. g. Corinthus, Zacynthus, Caryanda in Caria, Laranda &c.[2]; (2) on 'Mr. Morris Jones' acute study of the pre-Aryan elements in the

[1] Op. cit., p. 194. [2] Op. cit., p. 154.

Welsh and the Irish languages, and the remarkable resemblance which he has traced between their syntax and that of Berber and Egyptian.' Here is his proof that -nth- is a non-Aryan suffix. 'If we once admit that it is improbable that Minoan Crete was Indo-European, the termination in -nth-, which occurs there as much as on the mainland, can scarcely be Indo-European either,' and he assumes that wherever this termination occurs the people spoke a non-Aryan language. But this argument assumes that the aborigines of Crete were non-Aryan, the very proposition for the proof of which Professor Burrows has relied chiefly on the -nth- suffix. Yet he was perfectly aware [1] that Dr. Kretschmer, the author of the -nth- suffix argument, himself holds that the -nth-, -nt- suffix is Indo-European. So far then from there being any proof that -nth- is a non-Aryan suffix, the evidence is all the other way.

Since I wrote in 1902, Praesus, in East Crete, one of the ancient towns of the Eteocretans, has been excavated by Professor Bosanquet and Mr. R. M. Dawkins, and the analysis of the language of the Praesus inscriptions made by Professor R. S. Conway, as Professor Burrows admits,[2] has made it 'not improbable' that the language of the Eteocretans was Indo-European. Though Professor Burrows seems to admit that -nth- suffix is found all over Crete, and accordingly the land of the Eteocretans cannot be detached from the rest of that island, or from the whole area in which it occurs, though he admits that the culture of Praesus cannot be detached from that of Cnossus, and though he admits that linear script similar to that found at Cnossus was discovered in the Little Palace at Praesus,[3] he would fain persuade his readers that the Eteocretan language was different from that of the 'Minoans'. For this he cannot find any argument except the assumption that all ancient writers from Homer [4] downwards were wrong in believing that the Eteocretans were the oldest stratum of population in the island, and that the Eteocretans were really late settlers in Crete. This assumption, contrary to both the historical tradition and to the archaeological evidence, had to be made, if Professor Burrows was to maintain his impossible position that the aborigines of the island spoke a non-Aryan language.

[1] Op. cit., p. 157 note. Prof. Burrows likes to bury disagreeable facts in wordy footnotes.

[2] Ibid., 151. [3] Ibid., 158.

[4] Prof. Burrows holds that Eteocretes does not mean 'original Cretans', but only 'true' Cretans. Would he maintain that the Eteobutadae were not the 'original Butadae'? In the cases of families and tribes 'true' always means 'old'.

Nothing now is left of Professor Burrows' linguistic arguments except 'the remarkable resemblances' that Mr. Morris Jones 'has traced between Welsh and Irish and Berber and Egyptian'. We have seen above (p. 50) the worthlessness of this comparison, but if it had any value Professor Burrows would be compelled to hold that the -nth- suffix is Hamitic. Yet if this were so, how is it that he has not pointed to its occurrence in North African place-names? Now if, as Professor Burrows and Mr. Morris Jones believe, there are remains of Hamitic syntax in Irish and Welsh, which are so widely separated from their supposed non-Aryan congeners in Africa, there ought to be many more traces of such Hamitic syntax in Greek and Latin, since the supposed non-Aryan aboriginal people in each peninsula were much closer to their supposed Hamitic relations. Yet in Greek we have the most complete and delicate development of the Indo-European tenses and moods. Professor Burrows therefore holds with Mr. Morris Jones that it is possible for a non-Aryan people to take over the tense system of an Aryan language in its entirety. Yet it is an established fact that when non-Aryan peoples such as negroes take over English or French, the tenses invariably disappear, as is familiar in the case of 'pigeon' English. We may therefore rest assured that when we find the Indo-European tense system in all its fullness in such languages as Greek, Latin, Irish, and Welsh, it has not been borrowed, but is one of the original elements of the speech of these various peoples. No wonder he thought it prudent to state in his footnote (p. 198) that 'on the linguistic evidence alone there is much to be said for the other [my] view'. In that note he says that his own 'conclusion is reached on historical and archaeological grounds'. Yet we have just found that in order to defend his position he has had to deny all the statements of antiquity respecting the Eteocretans; again, though he admits that the culture of Praesus cannot be detached from that of Cnossus, he maintains that the Eteocretans and their language are late comers into Crete. He has also started with two assumptions unsupported by history or archaeology, that no dark-skinned people and no artistic people can be Indo-Europeans.

Let us now see what are the historical and archaeological facts bearing on the language of the aboriginal population of Greece. It is an admitted fact that the Arcadians spoke a dialect of Greek differing essentially from that of the Dorians on the one hand, and from that of the peoples of Achaia, Elis, Aetolia, Phocis, and Epirus on the other, but closely resembling those of Cyprus and the eastern part of Thessaly, known to the ancients as Pelasgiotis; it is also

admitted that in Arcadia we have the remains of exactly the same early culture as that found in the rest of Greece; it is also admitted that all writers, both ancient and modern, agree that Arcadia was never conquered either by Achean or Dorian.

Now I have shown[1] that in cases of conquest small bands of invaders coming without women of their own leave little impression on the native language, their children using the tongue of their native mothers[2]: that it is very difficult, even when the invaders come in force and bring women of their own, as did the Angles, for the invading language to efface completely the native tongue; thus Welsh still defies the English advance: there is no case known where a people who were not conquered, or who themselves were not conquerors, have adopted the language of another people. Professor Burrows has carefully refrained from combating this argument, and until it is overthrown by a still stronger array of facts than those on which I rely, we must hold that the primitive people of Greece, of whom the Arcadians certainly formed a part, spoke an Indo-European language. The same continuity of population has been proved for Attica both by history and archaeology. Professor Burrows himself admits the truth of the tradition respecting the early ethnology of Attica given us by Thucydides and Herodotus, whose statements are confirmed by the long series of pottery extending from Mycenean down to black and red figured vases found in the *dromos* of the great beehive tomb at Menidi. As there was no conquest of Attica, and no break in the continuity of its population, we must conclude that from first to last the indigenous people spoke an Indo-European language, unless we suppose that they deliberately abandoned their own speech in favour of an alien tongue.

Professor Burrows has stated that my view 'could only be justified by the assumption that the original centre of the diffusion of the Indo-European group of languages was the shores of the Mediterranean, and that the dialect which was afterwards to grow into Greek was left stranded there at a remote period'. He is careful not to say where the Indo-Europeans came from, and he has not attempted to meet the argument given at length in my *Early Age of Greece*[3]. I have simply to repeat what I wrote in 1902:—

'Nobody will maintain that the fair-haired peoples of Northern Europe have always had their present physical characteristics any more than the Patagonian Indians. Nor again would it be asserted that the human race developed in Northern Europe, for it is certain

[1] *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 647 sqq. [2] Op. cit., p. 199.
[3] Vol. i. p. 680.

that Europe must have been only gradually peopled from the south according as the great ice sheet melted and receded northwards. These emigrants must have belonged to some of the races of Africa or Southern Asia, but as these are all melanochrous, the settlers who followed the ice sheet as it receded up Europe must have once been melanochrous. Under climatic influences and during a long lapse of time these settlers would have become brunette in the southern peninsulas of Europe, whilst those who dwelt north of the great mountain chain would have a tendency to become still lighter, whilst those who dwelt on the margin of the Northern Ocean became completely xanthochrous. But as they had all originally spoken the same tongue before they had spread upwards they would continue to do so even after their physique had undergone material alterations. It is quite possible that this stock made its way in a north-westerly direction from the shores of the Indian Ocean through Asia Minor into the Mediterranean basin, and thence up Europe and into the British Isles. But though the inhabitants of the latter and those who dwelt on the contiguous coast of the continent became fairer in skin, yet they have retained to this day dark hair and dark eyes.'

Professor Burrows has nowhere attempted to criticize this clearly expressed statement of the origin of the Indo-European race, and no wonder, for he certainly could not object to my hypothesis that the Indo-Europeans as they slowly spread up Europe retained their own speech, for *mutatis mutandis* that is what he himself holds respecting the supposed non-Aryan dark-skinned Mediterranean race. He holds that this race is found in Wales and Ireland, and that in both these regions it spoke a non-Aryan language (p. 194). As he holds that the primitive Aegean language was related to Welsh and Irish, that primitive language was just as much stranded in the Aegean, whether it was Aryan or non-Aryan.

We may therefore conclude (1) that the aboriginal people of Greece, who were the creators of the Aegean culture of the Stone, Copper, and Bronze Ages, and who have always continued to be the artistic element in that region, never spoke any but an Indo-European language; (2) that the Ligurians who formed the aboriginal element over a large part of Italy also never spoke any but Indo-European; (3) that they have formed the chief element in the population of most parts of Upper and Central Italy at all times since the Neolithic period; (4) that the Latins were Ligurians; (5) that the Plebeians of Rome were this Ligurian stock; (6) that it was their language which became the Latin of classical times; (7) that they were conquered by the Sabines, an Umbro-Sabellian tribe (closely

related to the Keltoi) who used P where the Latins employed C or Q; (8) that the Ligurians were closely related on the one hand to the Illyrians, who bordered on them in North-East Italy, and on the other to the Iberians, who were their neighbours in North-East Spain; (9) that as the aboriginal Illyrians and Tracians, the melanochrous aborigines of Greece, and the Ligurians were Indo-Europeans, so too were the Iberians (the Basques excepted), their place-names and other words showing distinctly Indo-European suffixes; (10) that they were closely related to the aboriginal melanochrous people of France, such as the Aquitani and the Sequani, who had been conquered in many cases by Keltoi from beyond the Rhine; and (11) also to the aboriginal melanochrous race of the British Isles, who also from time to time were invaded and partly conquered by Keltoi (the so-called Brythons); (12) that the theory of a non-Aryan population in the British Isles rests on no other evidence, historical, social, or linguistic, than a few rash assumptions; whilst (13) we may conclude that, although there is a melanochrous *type* all round the Mediterranean basin, there is no evidence of a distinct Mediterranean *race*, the resemblance between Semites, Hamites, and southern Indo-Europeans being simply due to the fact that they have been domiciled for long ages under similar climatic conditions.

Professor R. S. Conway, of the University of Manchester, supported Professor Ridgeway's view as being on the whole the most probable equation between the linguistic and archaeological evidence, but pointed out that the relations between the different Indo-European dialects in Italy were very complex, and that the change of *q* to *p* was only one of the principles of classification. By a coloured map he exhibited the close relation between the 'Volscian' dialect of Velitrae and the 'Umbrian' of Iguvium (in its middle stage), and the curiously isolated position of Latin between these and the 'Sabellian' (or, more correctly, Safine) tribes. In a paper read in 1903 ('I due strati nella popolazione Indo-Europea dell' Italia antica,' 'Atti del Congresso Internaz. di Scienze Storiche, 1903,' vol. ii. sez. i. p. 9) he had shown that it was necessary to recognize an earlier and a later stratum—the first everywhere earlier than the Etruscan invasion; the second later, at least in the southern half of Italy. The latter, or Safine group, was distinguished by its use of the *-no-* suffix in its own ethnica—Safino- (Lat. Sabini), Hirpino-, Romano-; and also those of peoples whom it conquered—Spartani, Neapolitani, Ardeatini, Aricini, Marrucini. In purely Samnite districts this suffix almost

excluded any other; whereas, in the centre of Italy and in Umbria it was crossed by two other suffixes which belonged to the earlier or Volscian stratum, namely, *-co-* and *-ti-*, e.g. Volsci, Falisci, Aurunci, Marruci, Aricia; Ardeates, Veleiates, Reate, Praeneste, and Quirites. The group of *-co-* names lay close together, and there was a marked connexion with marshy places—*Vol(u)sci*, connected with Gr. ἕλος and *Veleia*, meant 'marshmen', and was recorded in Liguria in the form (ϝ)ελισυκοί; compare *dea Marīca* in salt-marshes at Minturnae and in Picenum; *Marīci*, the Ligurian founders of Ticinum; also the *Ustica cubans* of Horace, and *Graviscae* on the Tuscan coast. Therefore we had clear evidence to identify this *-co-* folk with the builders of the lacustrine or pile dwellings of the Terramare and early Latium, and with the Ligures and Veneti, in whose districts the *-co-* suffix (especially in the form *-sco-* or *-sca-*) and the *-ati-* suffix were extremely common. Ligurian was now universally admitted to have been an Indo-European language.

The outstanding problem was, therefore, to decide whether the Safine or the Volscian peoples had the original Indo-European *q*, and which of them had converted it into *p*. At first sight it seemed natural to attribute *q* to the Romans, (1) since they spoke Latin, which has *qu*; (2) since some Sabine words, especially the name of Quirinus, seemed also to show *q*; and (3) since the inscription of Velitrae in the Volscian hills had *pis* = Lat. *quis*. But on the other hand (1) the Samnite tribes (that is, the bulk of the *-no-* folk) had universally *p* (Osco-Umb. *pod* = Lat. *quod*), and the conquering Sabine Patricians would (*a*) tend to adopt the speech of their more numerous subjects, though (*b*) they would dictate the form of such political terms as Romani, Praenestini, which offered a sharp contrast with the homely, non-official ring of such a word as *nostrates*. Again, (2) it might well be that Quirinus, who seemed to have his roots in the town of Cŭres, had his name slightly changed in order to become the god of the Quirites; and a new significance appeared in the term *populus Romanus Quiritium*, which contained the essence of Roman policy, that of reconciliation and compromise. The other cases of Sabine *-q-* were not really difficult. Further, (3) the authors of the Velitrae inscription called themselves Velestrom (gen. plur.), showing the more primitive form of the word meaning 'marsh'—*veles-*, later *volus-*, and their ethnicon was later Veliternus (with *-no-*), so that they should be regarded as a Safine settlement in Volscian territory.

Finally, Professor Conway pointed to evidence outside the Italian peninsula in favour of the broad general view that the earliest Indo-European tribes of the Mediterranean basin preserved *q* as a guttural,

and did not change it to *p*. The coincidence in this respect (as well as others) between Venetic, with the name Ecco = Gallic Eppo, and Eteocretic, with *-ke* = I.-E. *-que*, and Phrygian, with, e. g., Γέρμη = Eng. *warm* (baths), which he had pointed out on the discovery of the *nomos-* inscription of Praesos (*Annual of British School at Athens*, vii), had since been confirmed by the discovery of a third Eteocretic inscription (with *dedikark(e)* = Lat. *dicaueruntque*) and by numerous new Phrygian inscriptions, proving that Phrygian belonged to the *centum*-group (see *Ann. B. S. Athens*, ix, and W. M. Ramsay, 'Neo-Phrygian Inscription', in *Jahresheften d. Oesterreich. Archäolog. Inst.*, viii. 1905). Further, Professor Conway inclined to the opinion that in Ligurian also, though the I.-E. voiced Velar was labialized, as in Irish (e. g. Lucus Bormani, and modern Bormio, with the voiced aspirate of Gr. θέρμαι, Eng. *warm*), yet I.-E. *q* remained initially (except possibly before *r*), and became *c* medially. Note that Quiamelius in a list of names at Antipolis (quoted by Müllenhof, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, iii. 173 ff.) was a characteristic Ligurian word: *mēlo-*, 'stone', as in Blustiemelus, Intimelium, and the first part contained the root of Gr. τείω (I.-E. *qei-*), and meant 'value, gem'; cf. the German names Goldstein, Goldberg. Soliceli, Stoniceli, contained the same element as Aequī-colī, 'dwellers on the plain'; Satī-cola, &c., I.-E. *quel-*, cf. Lat. *in-quil-inus*, Lat. *colo*, Gr. πόλις. The inscription of Ornavasso, on which Kretschmer (*Kuhn's Zeitsch.*, 38, 97) had relied as showing that Ligurian belonged to the P-group of I.-E. languages, was better counted Keltic; the names of man and wife (Latumarui Sapsutai-pe) on the wine-flask were not likely to be in the genitive or written by the possessors, as a man would not trouble to write his wife's name as well as his own on a bottle of wine, but more probably datives, written by some one who sent a present of the 'Naxian wine', which the bottle contained, jointly to both. Latumarus was a Keltic name. Professor Conway pointed out, however, that these prima facie indications of the character of Venetic and Ligurian could only be provisionally accepted until a complete collection of Ligurian, Venetic, and other pre-Italic inscriptions was made, as he hoped it would be before long.

AN UNRECOGNIZED WESTMINSTER CHRONICLER, 1381–1394

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D.

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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HIGDEN'S *Polychronicon* is a compilation by Ranulf Higden, a monk of St. Werburg's, Chester, which gives a general history from the creation of the world to the middle of the fourteenth century. The actual point at which Higden laid down his pen is uncertain and does not concern us now. It was the custom to bring such chronicles up to date, and the continuator sometimes betrays his locality by the interest which he shows in a particular monastery. In the Cambridge University Library there is a manuscript of the *Polychronicon* (Ii. 2. 24) which presents a continuation from 1344 (or 1346) to 1381. This was printed by Professor Lumby as an Appendix in the eighth volume of the Rolls Series edition. Subsequently he found in a manuscript of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (no. 197), the same continuation with a few modifications and with additional matter which brought it on from 1381 to 1394. The special interest of this manuscript was that it supplied the name of the continuator: for under the year 1344 it had the following entry:

> At this point Ranulf the monk of Chester as a matter of fact closed his chronicles. . . . After him wrote a certain monk of Worcester, John Malvern, leaving a gap of about two years: possibly nothing noteworthy had occurred in them to require the labours of his pen: accordingly he proceeds thus: 'On the feast of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr [in 1346] . . .'

Professor Lumby, in order, as he said, to make the whole of John Malvern's text accessible, printed the portion from 1381–1394 in the ninth volume of his edition, where it occupies 283 pages. The purpose of the present paper is to claim the whole of this later portion for a monk of Westminster who therein chronicled the events of his own time.

In brief, my contention is this: That the first portion (1346–1381), which I willingly leave to John Malvern, shows no special interest in

Westminster Abbey, its references to it being meagre or inaccurate; while the second portion (1381–1394) contains notices of Westminster, so many, so minute, and so accurate, as to prove beyond doubt that the writer was a monk of the house.

1. I begin with the first portion. Doubtless John Malvern is to be identified with the sacrist of that name who became Prior of Worcester in 1395.[1] It is certain, from the lists of monks preserved in the Chamberlain's rolls, that he was never a monk of Westminster. That his references to Westminster are meagre is obvious to any one who reads him; to prove the charge of inaccuracy we must investigate the details of a story which filled England with horror in the second year of King Richard II.

The incident of the pollution of the Abbey church by the murder of Robert Hawley in 1378 is narrated with great unction by the chronicler of St. Alban's whose narrative forms the basis of Walsingham's *History*.[2] Stripped of its 'more than tragic' garb, his story is briefly this. Two brave soldiers of the Black Prince, Robert Hawley and John Shakell, had brought home from the Spanish war the Count of Denia, who had been adjudged their lawful captive to be held to ransom. The count had been allowed to return, leaving his eldest son as hostage, but had died before the ransom was paid. Some years had passed, and under a new régime, in which John of Gaunt was paramount, the two squires were imprisoned for refusing to surrender the custody of the youth. They escaped from the Tower of London and took sanctuary at Westminster. They were pursued by an armed band led by Sir Alan Boxhall and Sir Ralph Ferrers. Shakell was enticed out of sanctuary and captured; but Hawley was found in the church at the time of high mass on the morrow of St. Laurence (11 August). The Gospel was being read, when a rush was made upon him. Defending himself with a short sword, he broke through and ran for his life twice round the choir; but in the end he was overpowered and slain: a servant of the church also, who strove to prevent the bloodshed, was killed. Such an outrage had never been known since St. Peter had consecrated the church with his own sacred hands. After an interval of cowardly hesitation, the primate and five suffragans fulminated anathema upon all who had taken the least part, whether by act or suggestion, in the crime,

[1] The Obedientiary rolls at Worcester show that John Malvern was Precentor in 11 Rich. II (1387–8), and Pitanciarius the next year.

[2] *Chronicon Angliae* (Rolls Series: ed. Maunde Thompson), pp. 206 ff. He begins: 'Rem scripturus sum plus quam tragicam, qui comoediam scripsisse semper optaveram.'

with the special exception by name of the King, the King's mother, and his uncle the Duke of Lancaster—the last of whom was under grave suspicion, and indeed was said to have openly admitted responsibility. The Bishop of London, on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, continually published the terrible sentence at St. Paul's. In October the Parliament was held at Gloucester, the duke being said to have designs against the Church which he feared to prosecute in London. The next year, however, in the Parliament held in London, it was ordered that the immunities and privileges of Westminster should remain intact, save only that the property of debtors who took sanctuary should not be protected against the lawful claims of their creditors.

Thus much from the chronicler of St. Alban's, who tells the story which had reached him with a certain horrible picturesqueness and with many expressions of outraged piety. To what extent can we check this account? Among the muniments at Westminster is a large quarto volume, called the *Liber Niger Quaternus*, a compilation made in the middle of the fifteenth century from earlier books. In this, which is in the main a Register of documents bearing on the monastic property, there are some entries of an historical nature. Three of these refer to the incident with which we are concerned.

The first two (ff. 87b, 88) concern the fine of two hundred pounds which Sir Alan Boxhall and Sir Ralph Ferrers bound themselves in the King's chancery to pay to the church of Westminster. The third is to the following effect:

A.D. 1378, on Wednesday, the morrow of St. Laurence the martyr, Robert Hawley, squire, was slain in the choir of Westminster by two knights and their servants, to wit Sir Alan Bokeshall and Sir Ralph Ferrers, at the moment when the levite was reading the Gospel at high mass. When he was slain, the mass ceased. Brother John Borugh was celebrating high mass, and brother Thomas Peverell was levite. And that holy place, consecrated of old by St. Peter, and never violated before, remained thereafter desolate and polluted till the Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary next ensuing [i. e. from 11 August to 8 December].

This bare record may be supplemented by two sets of monkish verses. The first occurs in Flete's account of Abbot Lytlington (Flete MS., f. 52b), and is prefaced thus:

This same Abbot in the great Parliament held at Gloucester in the second year of King Richard II carried himself well for the defence of the privileges of Westminster; namely in the matter of the death of Robert Hawley who was wickedly slain in the choir at the time of high mass while the Gospel was being read by the deacon, on the day of St. Taurinus the bishop, in the month of August; as appears by the verses written in the place of the choir where he was killed.

I need not trouble you now with these verses, nor with the others which were still for the most part to be read on Hawley's grave in Camden's time.[1]

From these documents it appears that in one important point the local tradition differs from the St. Alban's narrative. There is no mention at Westminster of the murder of a servant of the church. Yet this could hardly have been left unnoticed, if it had really occurred. It is indeed more than likely that some one may have been struck, though not fatally, in the *mêlée*—the epitaph on Hawley's tomb suggests this: but the second murder is probably an exaggeration for which Westminster is not to be held responsible.

An independent account of great interest is given by the continuator of the *Eulogium*, a contemporary writer of remarkable shrewdness and wit, who is thought to have been a monk of Canterbury, but more probably was a friar. I can here only call attention to two points. The first is that he notes with humour that at the moment of the murder the deacon was reading the words, 'If the master of the house had known in what hour the thief would come.' This is a loose citation of St. Matt. xxiv. 43; and Abbot Lytlington's Missal gives as the *initium* of the Gospel for St. Taurinus (11 Aug.) the words *Vigilate quia*, which occur in the preceding verse. The second point I would have you observe is that he makes no suggestion that any one else besides Robert Hawley was killed.

It is unnecessary to quote the narrative of this incident which John Malvern of Worcester has apparently served up out of Walsingham with a certain spice of his own. Enough to say that he follows the St. Alban's account as against the Westminster tradition in stating that a servant of the church was killed in the fray.[2]

[1] *Reges, reginae, nobiles, etc.* (London, 1600, unpaged). Both sets of verses are printed by Widmore, *Hist. of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 104 f.

[2] The following items from the Westminster records are of interest in connexion with the murder of Hawley:

(1) In the Abbot's Treasurer's roll (? Mich. 1377–Mich. 1378): 'Et datum uni nuncio venienti cum literis Regis pro Roberto Haule et Iohanni Schakel, vis. viiid.'

(2) *Munim.* 9256 A–E: the expenses of William Colchester (afterwards Abbot) travelling abroad, 10 July 1377–22 Nov. 1379. While Colchester was waiting at Avignon in the summer of 1378 till the Curia should be more settled under the new Pope, Urban VI, the news of Hawley's murder came: 'Postmodum tamen accessit quidam cursor de partibus referens eisdem, Magistro Thomae Southam et Willelmo Colchester, illud factum horribile in ecclesia Westmonasteriensi perpetratum. Unde extitit ordinatum juxta consilium M. T. S. et aliorum jurisperitorum inAvinione existentium, quod W. C. predictus diverteret se ad Curiam Romanam et ad resistendum malefactoribus perpetrantibus dictum factum horribile.' Taking a galley from Marseilles to Ostia, he reached

My object is to show that John Malvern, the writer of the continuation of Higden from 1346 to 1381, had no special interest in Westminster and no first-hand knowledge of its affairs, and that this marks him off clearly from the writer of the further continuation from 1381 to 1394. It is worth while, therefore, before leaving him, to point to some of his omissions. No monk who had any interest in Westminster could have failed, when writing of the great pestilence of 1348–9, to mention the death of the abbot, Simon Byrcheston, and half his monks, or to record the election of Simon Langham in 1349, and of Nicholas Lytlington in 1362.

Having decided, then, that up to the year 1381 the continuation of Higden ascribed to John Malvern shows no special interest in Westminster Abbey, and in one point definitely departs from the Westminster tradition, we pass on to consider the portion which follows from 1381 to 1394. And by way of introduction to this we may glance at the insertions which the writer of this later section has already made in copying John Malvern's portion.

To begin with, he inserts, as we have seen, the notice of John Malvern's authorship. I do not know how he came by his name: perhaps he found it at the end of the book from which he copied. We may remember in passing that Little Malvern was a cell of Worcester Priory, while Great Malvern was a cell of Westminster Abbey.

The next insertion to be noted relates to the death of Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, who died at Avignon in 1362. Our author adds that at his passing a certain Cardinal is said to have declared: 'This day a great pillar has fallen in the Church of God.' He further adds that he composed various books: one 'de quaestionibus

Rome 26 Nov. 'In expensis factis pro causa contra prefatos violatores, eo quod quidam frater Johannes Wellys, ante adventum dicti visum facientis ut premittitur [*sc.* Johannis Kentys], ad Curiam accessit ad papam cum literis regiis, et optinuit absolutionem a papa pro predictis violatoribus nimis favorabilem.' He employed counsel, paid fees to porters and chamberlains, and got access to the Pope: 'In brevi post haec optinuit ab ipso papa unam bullam cameralem contra dictos violatores.' This cost 80 florins, but the Pope was again got at, and revoked the bull. Hence a new effort which cost 150 florins, including payments to an Englishman and a lay brother to hold their tongues. Other persons were instructed to watch against a fresh reversal. As soon as his back was turned, Brother Wellys got the Pope to reopen the cause on the ground of the King's letters. But the precautions were too good, and the brother 'fell into the pit that he had made': ultimately he was excommunicated, and a confirmatory bull was procured: cost 29 florins. The total cost of the case against the 'violatores' was 437 florins, the florin being reckoned at 3*s.* 2*d.*

(3) The Treasurers' roll for 1378–9 tells us that the cost of reconciliation of the church, with gifts on the same day to the Lord Archbishop, his clerks and squires, was £22. 5*s.* 6½*d*

Armenorum', another 'de pauperie Christi'; and also published many sermons. Can we find a special reason why a monk of Westminster should have interested himself in the scholarly archbishop of Armagh? I think we can. The *Liber Niger Quaternus* contains a list of books sent from Avignon as part of the bequest of Simon Langham, who died there in 1376. In this list (f. 147) I find the following entries:

'Armakanus de questionibus Armenorum, cum sermonibus suis.'

. . . .

'Tabula sermonum sancti Augustini, cum Armakanis de paupertate Salvatoris.'

Here are the two books in question, and also the sermons: there is no further reference to 'Armachanus' in the list. Is this a mere coincidence?

A third insertion relates to Alice Perrers, the powerful mistress of the last years of King Edward III. The addition to her character is indeed but a paraphrase of Walsingham (I 320); but Westminster had its own reason for giving her an extra black mark: for the Muniment Room contains a document which suggests that she had extracted monies from us.

I need not dwell on the only other insertion, which is headed 'Commendatio regis Edwardi,' for it is directly drawn from Walsingham (I 327). A monk of Westminster writing in the next reign might well embody it with a view to mitigate the harsh judgement which John Malvern had pronounced on King Richard's father.

We now proceed to examine the references to Westminster[1] in the years 1381–1394.

15 June 1381 (p. 4). We begin with the rebellion of Wat Tyler, or, as our chronicler calls him, 'John the Tiler.' The dates are carefully noted. On Wednesday 12 June Lambeth was sacked, on Friday Archbishop Simon Sudbury was dragged out of the Tower and beheaded, and the rest of the day was devoted to a massacre of the Flemings. The same day an attempt was made on the royal treasury at Westminster. The next day, Saturday, brought the climax and the end. We owe to our chronicler the real cause of the sudden change of fortune. The mob came to the Abbey and dragged away to death Richard Ymmeworth, steward of the Marshalsea, who had taken sanctuary, and was actually clinging to the columns of St. Edward's shrine ('columnas feretri amplexantem'). 'St. Edward swiftly avenged the insult, to the exaltation of his sanctity and the consolation of the realm.' For a little later the King and his nobles

[1] For the Latin extracts see below, pp. 79 ff.

came to the shrine, and devoutly sought his aid.[1] Hence they rode to London and conferred with the rebels; the Tiler, who struck at the Lord Mayor, was killed, and the King offered himself to the rebels as their true leader: the rebellion was at an end. This is a fresh reading of the story: that an archbishop of Canterbury should be murdered was bad; but that St. Edward of Westminster should be outraged—words fail us; but I think you will concede the possibility that the chronicler was a Westminster monk.

20 Jan. 1382 (p. 11). Anne of Bohemia, sister of the Emperor, was married to King Richard in the Abbey, by the Bishop of London. The new Archbishop, William Courtenay, was vexed, though unjustly, and crowned her two days after, though he had not yet received his pall from the Pope. Our author goes on to quote a verse in which 'Anna' rhymes with 'manna,' but comments to the effect that there was more of earthly purchase than of heavenly gift about the lady, for the King of England paid no small portion of money 'pro tantilla carnis portione'.

26 Mar. 1382 (p. 12). A council was held at Westminster about the French truce: the Abbot and several London priors were summoned. This is a small point, which, however, would be of interest to a Westminster writer.

21 Dec. 1382 (p. 16). We now come to the Bishop of Norwich and his crusade. Let me remind you that England was supporting one Pope and France the other; and the fighting bishop, Henry Despenser, had been charged by Urban VI to preach a crusade and lead it in person against the wicked French. Many monks were enrolled, for they were entitled to go even without the permission of their superiors. That Westminster was interested is shown by an entry in the Chamberlain's roll for the year; Benedict Forde had no habit that year, because he was absent 'cum croisoria', with the crusade. Our chronicler was clearly in sympathy, for he tells us that for two days and three nights before the feast of St. Thomas there was a ceaseless flood of rain, but on the day itself, on which the Bishop of Norwich assumed the Cross and set it up in St. Paul's, there was not a cloud in the sky—a manifest omen of good. He says that, because this function was unknown to the English, the

[1] Froissart mentions the visit to Westminster: 'On the Saturday morning the King left the Wardrobe, and went to Westminster, where he and all the lords heard mass in the Abbey. In this church there is a statue of our Lady in a small chapel, that has many virtues and performs great miracles, in which the kings of England have much faith. The King, having paid his devotions and made his offerings to this shrine, mounted his horse about nine o'clock, as did the barons who were with him.'

Bishop of London sought everywhere in every cathedral church for the form of service, but in vain: only in the church of Westminster could he find the complete form.

A marginal note on p. 18 informs us that after all the Bishop of Norwich did the right thing. On 17 April he received the standard of the Cross in the church of Westminster, and carried it himself some way out of the monastery, and proceeded with a vast multitude to St. Paul's, and thence, after a solemn mass, proceeded towards the sea. 'On that day', the note adds, 'the Abbot and Convent of Westminster lost their temporalities, and thereafter till the feast of Peter and Paul in the following year they were in the hands of the King, who, however, owing to the mediation of friends, took no profit therefrom. For they lost their temporalities because they had pursued their cause in the Roman court against the Dean and Canons of St. Stephen within the palace contrary to the royal prohibition'. In the Chamberlain's roll for 1382–3 I find it entered that certain monks got but half-a-crown in bread and wine when they celebrated their First Masses—'et non plus quia temporalia fuerunt in manu domini regis illo tempore.'

[June] 1384 (p. 45). The French envoys, who were passing to Scotland through England, were by the King's command permitted freely to inspect the regalia of the King and Queen, which were kept in the Abbey. The special interest in the regalia seems to have begun with King Richard II; we shall hear of them again from our chronicler. And we may note that one of the monks of this period, William Sudbury, wrote a treatise on their history in the form of a letter to the King, who had asked questions about them. This treatise is embodied in the third book of the *Speculum* of Richard Cirencester, who was also a contemporary monk of Westminster.

About this time (p. 47) William Estsex, a prominent London magnate, took sanctuary at Westminster.

3 Sept. 1385 (p. 66). The King returning from Scotland, before he enters his own palace, comes to the monastery to visit St. Edward, 'visitare sanctum Edwardum,' and the relics there laid up by his predecessors.

27 Nov. 1385 (p. 72). News reached our lord the King of the death of John Bacon, his clerk, at Genoa, who had been sent by the King and his council to the Pope to take away the privilege in matters of debt from the Church of Westminster: wherefore John Waltham, clerk of the rolls, sought pardon from the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, earnestly requesting them to be merciful and forgiving. Since he was cut off by death his purpose in this and

other matters fell through. The same day the King ordered a solemn mass at Westminster for his clerk aforesaid. He had 'Placebo' and 'Dirige' sung there for his soul the previous day, and on both days he was himself present in the choir.

2 Jan. 1386 (p. 77). The King came from Eltham with the King of Armenia to Westminster, and though night had fallen brought him into the Abbey by candlelight and took him to the shrine; he also showed him the regalia with which he had been crowned. On the 13th the two kings were present (p. 79) at the consecration of Walter Skyrlowe, the clerk of the privy seal, to the bishopric of Chester (or, as we should say, of Lichfield).

29 Nov. 1386 (p. 89). On this day died Abbot Lytlington, and on 17 Dec. he was buried. Meantime the King sent thrice to the Prior and Convent to commend to them brother John Lakyngheth. On 21 Dec. the election was held 'per viam compromissi' [i.e. by entrusting the choice to certain selected monks], and William Colchester, the Archdeacon, was elected Abbot. The King, hearing this, was angry, and for some time refused to admit him, but by the mediation of friends he was afterwards reconciled, and wrote in sufficiently gracious terms to the Roman court on his behalf.

This is a new piece of our domestic history. Flete breaks off with Abbot Lytlington, and only tells us that the Abbot's temporalities were not restored for more than three-quarters of a year, i.e. not till 10 Sept. 1387. The *Liber Niger Quaternus* confirms the date of Lytlington's death, but says that the instrument of Colchester's election was made on 10 December. Perhaps the election began on that day, and was not completed till the 21st owing to the King's insistence on Lakyngheth's behalf.

On p. 98 we learn that the Pope, in spite of much entreaty, refused for some time to confirm William Colchester's election, wishing to annul the proceedings and appoint by papal provision. The King's ambassador, Robert Rounhale at last carried the point, and the Abbot got his bulls on 1 Sept. 1387. Immediately after this the Pope's collector in England, Cosmas Gentili, newly made Archbishop of Ravenna, entered the Curia and persuaded the Pope to insist on personal attendance of prelates elect before confirmation. Westminster was only just in time: St. Augustine's Canterbury, who had already waited a year, were told that their new Abbot must appear in person. Colchester was installed on St. Edward's eve, 12 Oct., and celebrated high mass on the festival, and then made a great banquet to all comers in the Abbot's hall (i.e. the new hall which his predecessor had built).

Here is a picturesque scene from p. 104. The citizens of London had promised to stand by the King; he entered the city on 10 November of this same year. To meet him came the mayor and chief citizens all in one suit of white and red: they rode through the city before him and came as far as the Mews at Charing. There the King dismounted and put off his shoes, as did the Archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, and Michael de la Pole; and barefoot they walked to the Abbey church. The Abbot and Convent came in copes to meet him as far as the King's Gate: carpets were laid from that point to the church: when the King had made his devotions he went back to his palace.

19 Feb. 1388 (p. 167). We have now come to the rising of the lords against the King, and their successful attack on his advisers and supporters. In the Parliament of 1388 the three persons named above,—the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and the Earl of Suffolk—were accused, together with two prominent citizens of London, Robert Tresilyan and Nicholas Brembre. At this point we have another Westminster scene. A commission having found Brembre not guilty, the lords were enraged: quite unexpectedly at that moment it became known that Robert Tresilyan, who had disappeared, was in sanctuary at the Abbey. The lords, with a great mob, rushed across; but the Duke of Gloucester arrested Robert Tresilyan and saved him from being torn in pieces. He was taken out of sanctuary and brought over to the Woolstaple. He was pressed to say whether sanctuary at Westminster could protect a traitor to King and realm: he persisted in saying that it could, because it was for charges of this kind that the privilege had been chiefly conceded. The lords supposed that he had said this merely for his own personal safety, and refused to credit his assertion. They took him at once before the full parliament. He was condemned and hung the same day.

The next day Brembre met with the same fate: his pious bearing at his execution is noted by our chronicler. It is interesting to find that nine years afterwards the King gave Abbot Colchester Nicholas Brembre's property at Stanes (*Lib. Nig. Quat.* f. 85 *b*).

The question of sanctuary in treason cases was now raised, and on 18 April 1388 (p. 173) the King, who was at Kennington, sent for the Westminster charters and privileges, and the matter was debated. The Chancellor and the Bishop of Winchester spoke against the privilege; but the King declared in the end that they who took Robert Tresilyan had incurred excommunication. Our chronicler takes this opportunity of applauding King Richard's zeal for the Church.

Further executions took place 12 May (p. 177); notably of John Beauchamp, James Berners, and John Salesbury. The first of these was buried in the Monastery of St. Mary, 'apud Wyrcestriam' (apparently the only mention of Worcester in our document), the last two in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in Westminster Abbey.

On the 15th of May (p. 178) the Duke of Gloucester and Sir John Cobham, stricken in conscience in regard to Tresilyan's arrest, humbled themselves to the Lord Abbot, promising such satisfaction as they could make.

We have gone nearly two-thirds through our document; in the hundred pages which remain the references to Westminster are yet more frequent and more elaborate. But I must not burden you with their examination. One more I shall give you, first, because it is in itself curiously unimportant; secondly, because within the last few weeks evidence has turned up to support it; and thirdly, because in it our chronicler seems to me to declare himself a monk of Westminster—*habemus reum confitentem.*

We have just discovered a batch of Coronation papers which have been stored away only too carefully for the past seventy years. Among them was one, crumbled into powdery fragments, which at first seemed past recognition, but which was arranged and placed under glass by that extraordinary manipulator of manuscript fragments, Dr. Edward Scott's assistant, Mr. Hunt, whose recent loss we and our friends at the British Museum so deeply deplore. By the aid of photography, and by comparison of the passage in our chronicler, to which I was happily able to call his attention, Dr. Scott has succeeded in reading the following statement:

> Memorandum, That at the coronation of King Richard . . . in the eleventh year of his age, as concerning the solemnities required at his coronation many defects are found. Imprimis, one shoe, of the right foot, was lost by the negligence and defect of Sir Simon Burle knight, who carried the said King on his shoulders from the church, to wit from the place of his coronation to his palace, contrary to ancient custom, the Abbot of the place protesting. Other defects . . . in other parts of the regalia are plainly manifest to the eye, which need repairing. Wherefore the said King Richard must be told, when he has come to his . . . so that defects of this kind which have happened in his time may be repaired.

King Richard was told, for when we turn to our chronicler, on p. 222 we read:

> On 10 March [1390] the King sent to Westminster one pair of shoes made of red velvet, adorned with pearls in a pattern of fleurs de lys, blessed by Pope Urban VI shortly before his decease, to be laid up with the other regalia of the coronation kept in the monastery. It is the rule for the King at once after the coronation to go into the vestry, lay aside his regalia, and assume other garments with which he is clothed by his grooms of the bedchamber, and thence to return

by a shorter way to his palace. But the contrary was done at the coronation of this King, and done amiss. For a certain knight, called Sir Simon Burle, at the end of the coronation took the King in his arms still clothed in his regalia; and entering the palace by the King's Gate, the crowds closing in and thronging him as he went, he carelessly lost one of the blessed shoes of the regalia. Therefore let our people take care in future ('Igitur nostrates caveant in posterum') that on no account they allow the King to go outside the church with the regalia, but see that, as the custom is, he return to the vestry when the coronation is completed, and there decently lay aside his regal ornaments.

I hope that you will allow that I have made out my case, and that we at Westminster may reckon this chronicler among our brethren (*nostrates*) of six centuries ago. Can we go further, and give him a name?

From the Chamberlain's roll of 1392-3 we gather that we had in that year about forty-seven monks. The series of these rolls is incomplete, and the next preserved is that of 1399-1400. Two writers at least are among the monks of that period, Richard of Cirencester and William of Sudbury. These have naturally the first claim on our consideration.

Richard of Cirencester is chiefly famous for a book he never wrote—*De situ Britanniae*, a clever fabrication of the eighteenth century. His own book was called *Speculum historiale de gestis regum Angliae.* His zeal for Westminster is attested by the devotion of the whole of his fourth book to Edward the Confessor. Indeed after this his energy as a compiler was exhausted, and he seems never to have carried his project further. The first portion (*prima pars*) of the *Speculum* appears among the books sent us from Avignon when Simon Langham died. Book I, therefore,—possibly Books I and II—must be dated before 1376: but Book III was not written till some years later, for it embodies a letter of William of Sudbury to King Richard II.

Professor J. E. B. Mayor, in the second volume of his edition of Richard of Cirencester (Rolls Series, 1869), brought together various items of information as to this author which had been discovered by Widmore[1]: but to this account a good deal can now be added. He first appears as *R. Circestre* in the Infirmarer's roll of 1354-5.[2]

[1] His preface gives some interesting facts as to Richard Widmore, the learned librarian of Westminster Abbey in the middle of the eighteenth century.

[2] He is in the Chamberlains' rolls for 1355-6, 1356-7, 1362-3, 1363-4, 1364-5, 1379-80, 1382-3, 1392-3, 1399-1400, 1400-1. These are the only extant rolls of the period: before and after them are the rolls for 1346-7 and 1418-9. He sung his first mass in 1361-2 (Infirmarer's roll), and took his seat 'ad skillam' in the Refectory in 1365-6 (Cellarer's roll). He was in the Infirmary for three days in Aug. 1389, and underwent some surgical treatment. He was there

He was one of the two Westminster monks who were studying at Oxford in 1364–5. In the Chamberlain's roll of 1382–3 we find him getting a 'double portion', like the Prior; and by this time, as we have seen, he had made his mark as an author. On 21 December 1391 he obtained from Abbot Colchester a licence to visit Rome and other places on the Continent. In this document, which is printed in full from Widmore by Professor Mayor, the Abbot declares that he has had experience of his excellent conduct for thirty years and more.[1] Whether this journey was undertaken or not, we do not know. The Abbot himself, according to our chronicler, started for Rome the very next day (p. 264). It may be that Richard went with him; but it is equally possible that, as the Abbot was to be abroad for two years, he got his licence by way of precaution in advance. The next we hear of him is that he is in the Infirmary for three days in March 1393. Finally, the Infirmarer's roll shows us that he died early in 1400, the last payment for him being made in the month of January.[2]

Are we to attribute our chronicle to him? It certainly contains better stuff than the *Speculum*, which is a very careless compilation. On the other hand the *Speculum* itself lays great stress on the privileges of sanctuary, and has a striking passage on the way in which the moderns (*moderni*) cease not to assail them from day to day, 'but in vain, methinks; for though the bark of Peter is sometimes tossed by waves, it cannot sink, because God puts His hand beneath it.'[3]

We go on to William of Sudbury, whom we have mentioned already in passing. He was one of our two monks at Oxford from 1378 till 1387. In 1386 and again in 1387 he came home to preach and returned; and in December 1386 he came back specially for the election of the new Abbot.[4] After this he left Oxford, where he had taken the degree of Bachelor in Theology. From a note in *Liber Niger Quaternus* (f. 88) we learn that in 1389 he drafted a letter from the King to Pope Urban VI[5] for the confirmation

again for six days from 25 Dec. 1390. He held the office of Keeper of the Lady Chapel in 1382, and in 1388 he and William of Sudbury, with two younger monks, drew up the great Inventory of the Vestry, which has been edited by Dr. Wickham Legg (*Archaeologia*, lii. 1890).

[1] William Colchester (Abbot 1386–1420) first appears in the Chamberlain's roll of 1362–3, but the next preceding roll is that of 1356–7.

[2] In a list of benefactions in *Lib. Nig. Quat.* f. 92 *b* we read: 'Frater Ricardus Circestre fieri fecit picturam (xl*s* *inserted above the line*) tabule altaris sancte Helene et ymaginis beate Marie pro iii marcis.'

[3] *Speculum* iv. 18, p. 250.

[4] These items are from the Treasurers' rolls.

[5] The letter was sealed at Windsor on 1 Sept.; the Pope died on 15 Oct.

of the privileges of the Abbey. This was probably an elaborate document, replete with arguments and precedents, and the author of the Tract on the Regalia was the proper person to compose it. In 1391–2 he rides to Canterbury to see the Prior about the scholars' house at Oxford; and also to Windsor, to interview the King with regard to the controversy about the Chapel of St. Stephen in the Palace at Westminster. In 1392–3 he went again to Canterbury about the house at Oxford, and in this year he was Treasurer of the Abbey. The last mention of him that I have found is as Refectorer[1] in 1412–13.

The Tract on the Regalia is addressed to King Richard II, and discusses in scholastic fashion the vexed question whether the regalia date from King Alfred or from St. Edward. The writer decides for the earlier monarch. He also deals with the privilege of Westminster as the place of coronations, and the documents he cites show that he has access to the Abbey archives.[2] We may accordingly place the work after his return from Oxford; but we can hardly judge from its laboured style how he could have written contemporary history. Richard of Cirencester introduces him to his readers as 'venerabilis vir et in sacrae theologiae pagina eleganter doctus'.[3]

On the whole I am not much inclined to identify our chronicler with either of these writers. I think he was more accurate than the compiler of the *Speculum*, and more matter-of-fact than the Bachelor

[1] See roll of *Novum opus* for that year.

[2] He quotes, e. g. the letter of Gwalo, the papal legate, regarding the coronation of King Henry III, which took place, for exceptional reasons, at Gloucester. The original of this has recently been rediscovered (*Munim. Coron.* I).

[3] *Speculum* iii. 3, p. 26. Widmore, *Hist. of Westminster Abbey*, p. 112, speaks of him as 'so far an author as to make tables or indexes to Lyra and Thomas Aquinas': Dart, *Westmonasterium* ii. p. xxviii, says that he 'wrote of the Properties of the Saints'. But neither of them gives his authority. The following notes, therefore, may here be added:

(1) Tanner's *Bibliotheca* (1748). *Tabulam super Lyram*: hanc vidit in bibliotheca ecclesiae S. Petri Westmon. Lelandus, *Collect.* iii. p. 145. *Tabulas* Gul. Sudbury S. T. baccalaurei, monachi Westmon., *super omnes libros S. Thomae de Aquino* (Royal MSS. 9. F. iv). Opus 16 annorum. Pr. 'Ut quoiundam vestrum novit'. Opponens erat in theologia Oxoniae A. MCCCLXXXII.

(2) Bale's *Index Scriptorum* (Oxf. 1902, Poole and Bateson). Guilhelmus Sudbury, monachus Westmon. scripsit *Summam seu directorium de proprietatibus sanctorum*: 'Abscondere, et quatuor sunt que abscondi'. Ex domo Ricardi Grafton.

(3) Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Ee. 5. 11 (f. 24 *b*): the second, and fuller, of two Tables or Indexes to the *Pupilla Oculi* is headed: 'Hec tabula facta per fratrem Willelmum Sudbery monachum Westmon' super pupillam oculi editam per magistrum Johannem Burght et magistrum Alanum Tylneye.'

of Divinity. Moreover, each of these lived into the next century, whereas our chronicle comes to a sudden end in the middle of 1394. This is the more to be observed because, though John Malvern became Prior of Worcester in 1395, our writer calls him simply 'a monk of Worcester.' It seems as though the chronicle were written up to date, and accordingly I prefer to look for its author among the nine monks who appear in the Chamberlain's roll of 1392-3, but are missing from the next extant roll, that of 1399-1400. Of these the two most noteworthy names are Thomas Merks and John Lakyngheth.

Thomas Merks became Bishop of Carlisle in 1397, and is known to history. He and Abbot Colchester went with the King to Ireland in 1399, and Shakespeare has familiarized us with the stand which he made for his old master on the accession of King Henry IV.[1] He was deprived of his bishopric, but the Pope gave him a titular see; then Henry forgave him, and he held English benefices till his death in 1409. A few notices of him can be gathered from the Abbey records. He appears in our Chamberlains' rolls of 1379-80, 1382-3, 1392-3. The Treasurers' rolls show that he was at Oxford in 1392-3 and the following year.[2] We learn from them further that in 1395-6, for what reason we do not know, he was granted by the Abbot and Convent a pension of £20; and in the following year this pension is entered as paid to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle. He must have had some specially close connexion with Abbot Colchester, for in the Prior of Hurley's grant for Colchester's anniversary (1411) there is a clause directing mention of the names of 'Reginald and Alice his parents and Thomas Merkes late bishop of Carlisle.' Moreover, to one of his old servants the Abbot seems to have entrusted a letter to the Roman court.[3]

A chronicle which closes in 1394 might well be the work of a monk who left us for a bishopric in 1397. But perhaps a better candidate for the honour of authorship is John Lakyngheth. He was clearly a person of first-rate importance in the Abbey, and our chronicle has told us that the King pressed him upon the monks when William Colchester was elected Abbot.

We first hear of John Lakyngheth in 1362, when he was Warden

[1] Richard II, Act IV, Sc. I.

[2] 'Et solutum fratri Thome Merks studienti Oxonie pro expensis suis factis circa introitum ad sentencias, *xli*' (Tr. Roll, 1392-3)

[3] 'Et datum cuidam homini quondam commoranti cum episcopo Karlill' nomine Henrico deferenti literas ad curiam, *vis viiid*' (Abbot's Receiver's Roll, 1416-7).

of the Household (*Custos hospicii*) to the new Abbot, Nicholas Lytlington, who succeeded Simon Langham in April of that year. He seems to have held this office and that of Abbot's Treasurer until November 1371. This was a great period of rebuilding. Already, as Prior, Lytlington had been pressing forward the work of the south and west cloisters, and they were finished in 1365, three years after he became Abbot. The great entrance in the S.W. corner, and the Abbot's Camera above it, were reconstructed in these same years (1362–5); and before John Lakyngheth had ceased to superintend his household the rebuilding of the rest of the house—the present Deanery—had begun (1370–1).

For the next ten years Lakyngheth was the senior of the two Treasurers of the Convent, and we find him making considerable payments for repairs in the privy dorter and the kitchen. Before he laid down his office, we find from the *Liber Niger Quaternus* (f. 85*b*) that he 'inspected the account-rolls of all the officers of Westminster and set them at their true annual values'. On f. 140 we find a table for the fourth and fifth years of King Richard II, which explains this undertaking. His method was to take an average of the past seven years, and deduct from the amounts received the sums required for necessary expenses. The resultant values are given, with the deduction of tenths for the King when these had to be paid. The object was to discover what monies were available for 'the work of the new church' (that is, the rebuilding of the nave), beside what might be assigned by the Abbot and Convent to the repair and building of houses. The sum total is £265, or when tenths were paid, £213.

After this, from 1382 to 1387, he was Cellarer, and we find him paying large sums for a new Grange, and also building a mysterious 'domus circa le Wodevyne' at a cost of £130. He pays also for a new Gate with a house over it—the predecessor of the S.E. Gate of Dean's Yard—and part of the cost of the bridge outside—which was recently disclosed when the foundations of the Cowley Fathers' new house were being laid. During this period he received on one occasion (1383–4) £200 from the internal treasury 'for transacting certain matters for the good of the church of Westminster'.[1] Towards the close of it, in 1386, he was disappointed of the Abbot's place; but it is interesting to note that, perhaps by way of *solatium*, he succeeded to the pension of six marks vacated by William Colchester, and also was granted for the term of his life the profits

[1] *Lib. N. Q.* f. 145 *b*.

(ten shillings *per annum*) of an osier-bed, which was on a little island where the Church House now stands.[1]

Once again he took up the office of Treasurer to the Convent (1387–92).[2] In 1392–3 he must have been seriously ill; for the Infirmarer's roll tells us that a doctor was called in 'ad videndum statum fratris Johannis Lakyngheth'. He seems to have lived on quietly without office until 1396, when he died shortly before Easter.[3]

I have lingered over John Lakyngheth, for he deserves to be rescued from oblivion.[4] Whether he devoted his few years of leisure to the continuation of John Malvern's work, we shall perhaps never know. The mention of his name in connexion with the vacancy in 1386 is fully compatible with his authorship, and there are several passages in the chronicle which bear on the treasure and finances of the church.

[1] Treasurers' roll, 1386–7, cf. *Lib N. Q.* f. 85 *b*: Cellarer's roll, 1387–8

[2] From 1372 to 1392 he was the senior of the two Wardens of the Manors of Queen Eleanor. This office, after the necessary expenditure on candles for the Queen's tomb and other charges of her anniversary, showed a yearly profit so great that at this time a distribution was made to each of the monks of sixty and sometimes seventy shillings.

[3] Treasurers' roll, 1395–6. From 1384 to 1390 the new Cellarium was being built for £500, to be followed in the next four years by the new Malthouse at a cost of more than £700.

[4] It may be mentioned as a coincidence that John Lakyngheth, a monk of Bury, who was murdered by the rioters at the time of Wat Tyler's rebellion, was the compiler of a Register of his abbey which is still preserved. There was a William Lakyngheth at Westminster, who was sacrist from 1356 to 1359, and died in 1360–1. Edmund Lakyngheth, Escheator in co. Suffolk, receives a royal *precipe* in 1391 to hand over to Westminster Abbey the alien Priory of Stoke *iuxta* Clare (*Munim.* 6226). And a third John Lakyngheth appears in a long and mutilated roll of the proceedings of the Court of Chivalry (1392–1396), as representing the Constable of England in a case between John Shakel and Maude, the sister of the murdered Robert Hawley (*Munim.* 5958). Lakenheath is a village in Suffolk, six miles N.E. of Mildenhall.

APPENDIX

The following passages of this chronicle have a special Westminster interest, and may serve as *pièces justificatives*.[1] I give references to the pages of Dr. Lumby's edition (Higden, *Polychronicon*, vol. ix); but I have collated the passages afresh with the manuscript in Corpus Christi College.

Through the courtesy of the Librarian, Mr. C. W. Moule, I have been able to examine the manuscript with some care. It forms part of a quarto codex (no. 197) which is composed of very diverse elements, the last piece being the famous eighth century fragments of the Latin Gospels with Celtic illuminations. Our chronicle is on paper with a fine water-mark of a pomegranate with four leaves. It commences at the top of the second folio. On the first folio we have:

1. A list of the children of King Edward III. A similar list is found in the *Liber Niger Quaternus*, f. 92, as explanatory of the figures on the king's tomb.

2. Memorial verses of the Kings of England, as follows:

> 'Will con Willelmus Hen Stephan Henque secundus
> Ri Johan Henricus Edward tres Rique secundus.'

3. A letter from King Edward I to the Abbot of Westminster, sending transcripts of two letters in French, in which the Scottish lords recognize the suzerainty of the English king. These letters, dated 1291, are printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, II. 529.

'Edwardus dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, et dux Acquitanie, dilectis sibi in Christo abbati et conventui Westmon' salutem. Mittimus vobis sub sigillo scaccarii nostri presentibus appenso transcripta quarundam literarum que in thesauraria nostra resident tenorem qui sequitur. *A touz ceux*, etc.

Unde vobis mandamus quod eadem faciatis in cronicis vestris ad perpetuam rei geste memoriam annotari. Teste magistro Willelmo de Marchia thesaurario nostro aput Westmon' ix die Julii anno regni nostri decimo nono per breve de privato sigillo.'

This letter is a further proof that we are dealing with a Westminster book. The *verso* of this first leaf contains some accounts in French, but I cannot discover anything in them to connect them with the Abbey.

The collation of the book shows that the gatherings are imperfect, but no written leaves are missing. The writing ends at the bottom of the last leaf but one, the last leaf being left blank. Throughout the book the original hand has made a number of corrections, sometimes in the

[1] I have to thank the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office for permission to reprint from the Rolls Series edition.

text, and sometimes by way of addition in the margins. It is evident that we have the writer's own book, and possibly no fair copy of it was ever made.

[15 June 1381; ed. Lumby, p. 4]. In crastino quippe, quae dies sabbati erat, saepe nominata turba more solito omnes penes quos ira movebantur diligenti indagatione inquirebant, apprehensos decapitabant. Inter quos quemdam Ricardum Ymmeworthe senescallum de Marchalsie, ad ecclesiam Westmonasteriensem causa suae salutis confugientem et columnas feretri amplexantem, violenter a tam sacrato loco extraxerunt, et extractum sine aliquo judicii processu decollaverunt in medio Chepe. Sed sanctus Edwardus irrogatam sibi injuriam citissime vindicavit, in suae sanctitatis exaltationem et regni consolationem. Nam post horam ejusdam diei nonam rex in tanta rerum turbine, concomitantibus dominis et militibus, cum multo civium equitatu ad Westmonasterium causa orationis accessit divinum ad feretrum praedicti regis imploraturus auxilium ubi humanum omnino defuit consilium. Unde accedenti propius portae monasterii conventus processionaliter ibat in obviam. Rexque equo continuo descendens flexis genibus crucem quae ante conventum ferebatur devote cum lacrimis osculatus est. Dein ad feretrum gloriosi regis Edwardi accessit, moram ibidem in oratione pertrahendo. Videres ibidem dominos, milites, armigeros, aliosque innumeros pia devotione contendere quis ante alium sanctorum reliquiis ibidem repositis prius offerret, quis profusius lacrimas in oratione perfunderet. Nec defuit devotis oratoribus, meritis sui sancti regis Edwardi, divinum praesidium. Surgentes ab oratione singuli quandam spem et confortationem boni eventus conceperunt: sicque animati iterum ad civitatem equitaverunt, et ad locum qui Planus Campus vocitatur perrexerunt, colloquium habituri cum duce villanae turbae.[1]

[18 Jan. 1382; p. 11]. Decimo octavo die mensis Januarii cum summo honore Londoniensium civium recepta fuit soror praedicti Imperatoris, et ad Westmonasterium cum ingenti gloria perducta, stratoris officium gerentibus dominis [space for omitted names]; residebat enim in uno dextrario; quae tertio decimo kalendas Februarias in ecclesia Westmonasteriensi regi desponsata est, et in die sancti Vincentii proxime subsequente [22 Jan.] per manus domini Willelmi Courteneye archiepiscopi in reginam coronabatur. Desponsationis peragebat solemnia episcopus Londoniensis, quare archiepiscopus indignatus, licet injuste, coronationis sacra complevit, quanquam pallium a papa nondum obtinuerat. De ista regina sic quidam scripsit metrice:

Digna frui manna datur Anglis nobilis Anna.

[1] See above, p. 66. The question of sanctuary engages the writer's attention again and again; see below, pp. 81, 84 ff., 88, 90. Just before this extract there is written in the margin: 'Attende quod isto die nitebantur aerarium regium apud Westmonasterium,' i. e. on Friday, 14 June.

Sed scrutantibus verum videbatur non dari sed potius emi: nam non modicam pecuniam [1] refundebat rex Angliae pro tantilla carnis portione.

[26 Mar. 1382; p. 12]. Venerunt ambassiatores praefati et succincta Gallorum responsa manifestarunt in concilio celebrato apud Westmonasterium in crastino Annunciationis beatae Mariae, ad quod vocati fuerant per regias literas abbas Westmonasteriensis et alii priores de London.

[21 Dec. 1382; p. 16]. Per duos dies et tres noctes ante festum sancti Thomae apostoli indesinens erat inundatio pluviarum, unde per diversas partes Angliae in tantum augebatur aquarum discursus ut exinde sequeretur frugum et aliarum rerum immensum detrimentum. In die praedicti apostoli episcopus Northwycensis sumpsit crucem pariter et erexit in ecclesia sancti Pauli super gradus ante ostium chori, peragente solemnia episcopo Londoniensi. Ipso die clara fuit et sine nube temperies, aliquod felix auspicium offerens. Et quia invisa fuit et incognita Anglis ista solemnitas, ubique in omni ecclesia cathedrali scrutatus est episcopus formam tanti facti; sed nullibi reperiens solum in ecclesia Westmonasteriensi plenissimam hujus observantiam invenit formam.

Rex tenuit Natale apud Westmonasterium: proposuerat ipsum tenuisse Wyndeshoram, sed impediebatur aquarum immensitate, et praefata pluvia tanta crevit aquarum immensitas in pluribus locis inopinate, quod demersit greges ovium et armenta diversa pecudum, et in adeo se levavit in altum quod homines vitae suae consulentes solaria altissima domorum, quidam arborum cacumina petiverunt. Egit rex in sceptris pariter et regina in ecclesia Westmonasteriensi in die Natali inter solemnia missarum.

[17 Apr. 1383; p. 18; *in head margin of f. 137*]. Septimo decimo die Aprilis episcopus Northwycensis in ecclesia Westmonasteriensi accepit vexillum crucis ac illud ipsemet portavit aliquantulum extra monasterium, processitque cum infinita multitudine ad sanctum Paulum. Decantata ibidem missa solemni continuavit iter suum postmodum versus mare. Illo quoque die abbas et conventus Westmonasteriensis perdiderant sua temporalia, et abhinc usque festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli anno revoluto in manu regis fuerunt; mediantibus tamen amicis nihil inde percepit. Perdiderunt namque eorum temporalia quia persecuti sunt jus eorum in curia Romana contra decanum et collegium sancti Stephani situati infra palatium contra prohibitionem regis.[2]

[June 1384; p. 44]. Quo in tempore venerunt in Angliam duo viri

[1] modica pecunia *cod.*

[2] See above, p. 68. The following extracts from the Chamberlain's roll for 1382–3 illustrate the foregoing passages: (1) After certain names mentioned we read, 'et non plures, quia W. Colchestre, W. Halle et B. Forde non habuerunt habitus hoc anno; quia W. C. et W. H. fuerunt Romae, et B. F. cum croisoria': (2) Paid to J. Cogesale, R. Tonworthe, R. Hermundesworthe, in bread and wine on celebration of First Mass ii*s.* vi*d.*, 'et non plus, quia temporalia fuerunt in manu domini Regis illo tempore.'

valentes de Francia, unus clericus, alter miles, cum paucis eorum domesticis, et salvo conductu usque Scotiam per medium Angliae transierunt, et ab hinc usque ad australes partes Angliae pervagantes, tam in exeundo quam in redeundo omnia secreta regni quae optabant videre libere aspexerunt, in tantum quod regalia regis et reginae apud Westmonasterium reposita rege mandante sunt etiam liquido contemplati.

[August 1384; p. 47]. Relatum est etiam quod isti [sc. J. More et R. Northbury] ad excitandam seditionem in civitate Londoniae multipliciter laborabant, et ideo erant capti; sed Willelmus Estsex longe ante causa refugii ad Westmonasterium caute transivit.

[3 Sept. 1385; p. 66]. Tertio die Septembris venit rex Londoniam, et eodem die circa horam vesperorum antequam ingressus fuerit locum mansionis accessit ad monasterium visitare sanctum Edwardum et alias reliquias ibi per praedecessores suos repositas.

[27 Nov. 1385; p 72] Item xxvii° die Novembris venerunt nova domino regi de morte domini Johannis Bacon clerici sui, apud urbem Januae decedentis; qui fuit missus a rege et ejus consilio ad papam ut tolleret privilegium pro debito ab ecclesia Westmonasteriens ; qua de causa dominus Johannes Waltham clericus regis de rotulis nomine suo petiit veniam ab abbate et conventu Westmonasteriensi, rogans eos instanter ut sibi misericorditer perdonarent; et quia erat morte praeventus ante adventum papae non est suum votum neque in his neque in aliis consecutus . . . Quo etiam die [27 Nov.] rex fecit solemnem missam fieri in ecclesia Westmonasteriensi pro clerico suo paulo superius nominato. Habuit etiam die lapso ibidem *Placebo* et *Dirige* in conventu pro anima dicti clerici, et utroque die ipsemet fuit praesens in choro dum pro dicto clerico erat obsequium peragendum.[1]

[1] In the margin of p 153 of the MS. is written [ed. p. 79]:—

'Item anno domini millesimo ccclxxxv° rex Angliae misit speciales literas domino papae pro canonizatione regis Edwardi secundi post conquestum, qui jacet Gloverniae; nec tamen obtinuit quod optavit'

Later we read of a further attempt at the canonization of King Edward II in June 1390 [ed. p. 237]:—

'Confestim post rex transtulit se Gloverniam, multum appetens proavum suum ibi jacentem transferre; ubi occurrebant ei Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, episcopus Londoniensis et quidam alii episcopi cum clericis et jurisperitis, super attestatione miraculorum domino papae dirigenda. Primo discutiendum per eos utrum sint vera miracula seu conficta, super quo negotio prius papa misit episcopo Londoniensi quandam bullam ad inquirendum veritatem dictorum miraculorum et ad certificandum sibi quomodo rei veritas se habeat in negotio antedicto.'

The disposal of the body of King Edward II was naturally a matter of interest to the Westminster monks. In an account rendered of the Church of Oakham by Robert Beby (A. D. 1327–8) we read of two of the monks riding to Nottingham in quest of the body of the late king: 'in expensis dicti fratris R[oberti] et J[ohannis] de Tothale missis (*sic*) apud Notingham pro corpore Regis defuncti

[Jan. 1386; p. 77]. Denique rex Armeniae a duce Gloucestriae invitatus ut die Epiphaniae apud Pleyssh secum existeret; igitur primo die Januarii petiit licentiam recedendi a rege et obtinuit. Tandem mane facto innotuit regi Angliae praedictum regem velle transitum facere per Londoniam; accinxit se apparatu nobiliori et eundem regem usque Westmonasterium commeavit; supervenienteque noctis umbraculo nihilominus accensis cereis adduxit illum ad monasterium; factisque oblationibus et visis reliquiis ibidem repositis ostendebat ei etiam insignia regalia quibus olim fuerat coronatus . . . Tertio decimo die Januarii apud monasterium de Westmonasterio facta est solemnis consecratio episcopi *Cestrensis de magistro Waltero Skyrlowe, clerico privati sigilli domini* regis, per Willelmum Courteneye archiepiscopum Cantuariensem; praesentibus regibus Angliae et Armeniae, Eboracensi archiepiscopo et quinque aliis episcopis, ducibus Lancastriae et Gloucestriae, cum aliis Angliae nobilibus profecto non paucis.

[29 Nov. 1386; p. 89]. Item xxix° die Novembris obiit frater Nicholaus Litlyngton abbas Westmonasteriensis et xvii° die Decembris fuit sepultus. Interim dominus rex misit ter priori et conventui pro fratre Johanne Lakyngheth, ut ejus personam sui contemplatione haberent merito commendatam. Igitur xxi° die Decembris celebrata electione electus est per viam compromissi frater Willelmus Colchestre archidiaconus dicti monasterii in abbatem. Quo audito rex indignatus quasi per aliquot tempus distulit illum admittere, sed mediantibus amicis fuit sibi postea reconciliatus, et satis gratiose scripsit pro eo curiae Romanae.[1]

[9 Feb. 1387; p. 90]. Item ix° die Februarii venit rex Westmonasterium audivitque missam ad altare sancti Edwardi, et abhinc arripuit iter versus partes boreales, venitque Eboracum causa archiepiscopi Eboracensis discordantis cum clero et populo suae dioecesis.

petendo: eundo morando ibidem et redeundo cum iiii equis per xxi dies: iiii*li* x*s*'.

For the 'miracles' of King Edward II see *Chron. of Edw. I and Edw. II*, Rolls series II. 290. In Stevenson's *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 426, is the following note:—

'In the year 1340, a certain "vadlet", named John de Baston, informed Edward the Third that he had built a chapel to the honour of St. John the Baptist, "et de nostre seigneur le roy Edward de Karnervan, vostre piere, jesant a Gloucestre, qui Dieux assoile," at a place called "Wyke day market," in the town of Nottingham, where great miracles had been done in honour of the said king; and requesting that Edward would grant to the builder the forty feet of ground upon which the chapel was built. The prayer of the petition was granted by Privy Seal, dated 6th July, 14 Edw. III.'

[1] Comp. *Lib. Nig. Quat.* f. 86: A. D. 1386 'in vigilia sancti Andreae apostoli obiit dominus Nicholaus Lytlyngton Abbas Westmon' in manerio de la Neyte hora prandendi, et decimo die Decembris proxime sequentis factum est instrumentum electionis Willelmi Colchestre archidiaconi in Abbatem'.

[1 Sep. 1387; p. 98]. Papa vero quamvis plurimum requisitus electum Westmonasteriensem confirmare aliquantulum distulit, volens sicut alias cassare electionem et electo postea providere. Sed ad petitionem magistri Ricardi Rounhale domini regis ambassiatoris concessit ut illi in rota ibidem in causa cognoscerent ac electionem examinarent et fine debito terminarent. Sicque primo die Septembris electus praedictus omnes suas bullas suam electionem concernentes recepit . . . [p. 102] Nec mora confirmata electione Westmonasteriensis electi intravit curiam dictus Cosmas Gentilis, confestim papam consuluit ne electiones abbatum exemptorum ipsis absentibus deinceps in curia confirmaret, sed absque ulla spe misericordiae hujusmodi electi se personaliter apostolico conspectui praesentarent, recepturi ibidem post congruam examinationem, prout moris est, munus sacrum benedictionis ab episcopo ad hoc specialiter deputato . . . Igitur electus Westmonasteriensis primo die Septembris receptis bullis suae confirmationis xii^{mo} die Octobris rite fuerat installatus, et sequente die, scilicet in festo translationis sancti regis Edwardi, magna missa ab eo peracta, fecit suum introitum, omnes confluentesque ad suam aulam in multa rerum vescibilium ubertate eo die refecit.

[10 Nov. 1387; p. 104]. Rex autem super hujusmodi responso exhilaratus, x^{mo} die Novembris civitatem Londoniarum intravit, contra quem major et ceteri cives dictae civitatis in una secta, alba scilicet et rubea, honorifice exierunt, et ante eum per medium civitatis usque le Muwes apud Charryngg processionaliter equitarunt: ubi rex discalciavit se et archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Robertus le Veer dux Hiberniae, et Michael de la Pole comes Suffolkiae, cum eo pariter nudipedes ad ecclesiam sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis processerunt; contra quem etiam abbas et conventus dicti monasterii in capis usque portam regiam ei obviam modo solemni venerunt, et illum super tapetis ab illo loco stratis usque in ecclesiam deduxerunt: factisque suis devotionibus ex more ad suum palatium remeavit.

[19 Feb. 1388; p 167]. Sed tunc ex insperato innotuit illis quomodo Robertus Tresilyan erat in sanctuario Westmonasteriensi. Mox praedicti domini, caeteris omissis pro tempore, ad dictum sanctuarium cum multitudine glomerosa celeriter adierunt; at dux Gloucestriae accepta clava protinus dictum Robertum Tresilyan arrestavit et ipsum defendebat ab his qui in eum irruere crudeliter satagebant . . . Sicque xix^{o} die arestatum Robertum Tresilyan dicti domini de sanctuario praedicto violenter funestis manibus abstraxerunt et in domum lanarum extra sanctuarium adduxerunt; ⌜interrogantes eum sollicite an sanctuarium ecclesiae sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis regis et regni proditorem salvaret. Quibus constanter dixit quod salvaret talem, quia pro hujusmodi criminosis potissime fuit illa libertas ecclesiae praedictae concessa. Qui putantes ipsum in sui ipsius salvationem hoc asseruisse, ideo fidem suis dictis

nequaquam dederunt⌝, sed abhinc coram toto parliamento ipsum protinus perduxerunt.[1]

[22 Feb. 1388; p. 169]. Item xxii° die Februarii, scilicet cathedra sancti Petri, venit rex ad monasterium Westmonasteriense, et intererat processioni ibidem cum clericis de sua capella et monachis intermixtis: demum finita missa cum vesperis, quia quadragesima erat, ad manerium suum de Kenyngton rediit comedendum.

[18 Apr. 1388; p. 173]. Item xviii° die Aprilis misit rex pro cartis et privilegiis Westmonasterii apud Kenyngton, et in praesentia cancellarii, episcopi Wyntoniensis, domini Johannis Deverose senescalli domini regis, et aliorum magnorum tunc ibidem existentium, ejus jussu erant perlecta; et profecto istis de causis cancellarius quoque Angliae pro nihilo reputabat quemquam de sanctuario extrahere confugientem ad illud, ejusque bona tamquam si essent fisco regio merito nihilominus confiscanda absque conscientia vellet ea quadam violentia asportare: quibus contrarium cavetur quod non solum rei sanguinis ac aliis criminibus quibuscunque irretiti dicta immunitate gauderent cum omnibus bonis eorundem, verum etiam eadem libertate alii infames cujuscunque conditionis licet sint rei majestatis regiae obnoxii inibi potirentur. Ad ista vero episcopus quasi concludendo respondit satis versute: Ergo et si rex a quoquam ibi occideretur, adhuc libertate ista pensata salvaretur ibidem; quod esset absurdum; immo potius totum privilegium ejusdem loci melius foret destruere, quam talia enormia sustinere. In hoc ultimo et in omnibus aliis fuit derisus, quia non est compertum quod aliquis regum praecedentium in tam sacro loco taliter suam vitam finiret, nec est praesumendum in posterum ita fieri debere, contrariis penitus annullatis. Ad haec vero rex applaudebat, asserens omnes illos extractores Roberti Tresilyan de sanctuario sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis cum consentientibus et agentibus fore profecto excommunicationis sententia innodatos. Ecce quomodo nobilis rex ecclesiam dei veneratur et diligit, quam affectuose sollicite satagit ejus libertates defendere ac etiam conservare: verum nullus episcoporum tantum zelat pro juribus ecclesiae quantum ipse.

[12 May 1388; p. 178]. J. vero Beauchamp sepultus est apud Wyrcestriam in monasterio sanctae Mariae, et J. Berneres apud Westmonasterium est humatus in capella sancti Johannis Baptistae. J. vero Salesbury . . . usque Tybourne fuit tractus et ibi suspensus, sepultusque est apud Westmonasterium juxta J. Berneres in praelibata capella . . . Dux vero Gloucestriae et dominus Johannes Coboham onerarunt conscientias suas eo quod Robertum Tresilyan de sanctuario Westmonasteriensi violenter extraxerunt; xv° die Maii venerunt et submiserunt se domino abbati, promittentes se satisfacere juxta posse.

[27 May 1388; p. 180]. Item xxvii° die Maii quidam clericus provisione papae fovens litem contra alium ratione cujusdam beneficii tunc

[1] The passage marked thus ⌜ ⌝ is inserted in the margin, but in the same hand.

vacantis, venitque ad sanctuarium Westmonasteriense gratia tuitionis suae personae; qui saepius tempore istius parliamenti porrexit cancellario tunc Eliensi episcopo billas diversas, rogans attentius quatenus ad jus suum vellet habere respectum. Cancellarius vero ad suas supplicationes minime advertebat, quia potius stetit cum suo adversario quam cum illo: propter quod dictus clericus confecit unam magnam literam in qua multa convicia inseruit de cancellario antedicto; aliaque nova in eadem tangentia statum regni stulta et insipienter expressit. Hanc quidem literam cuidam Romipetae tradidit ad bajulandum suo socio in Romana curia commoranti. Bajulus vero habens facere cum cancellario, praescius de insertis in praedicta litera de eodem episcopo contentis, illam sibi ad captandum suae dominationis benevolentiam praesentavit. Qua perlecta misit illam perlegi coram toto et pleno parliamento; qua audita protinus omnes exarserunt in iram, adjudicantes ipsum vita indignum, tanquam falsissimum proditorem, qui tam audacter regni secreta praesumeret propalare: non obstante sanctuario supradicto ipsum vellent festinanter vita privare; sed confestim miserunt pro abbate ut ad eos in propria persona veniret; qui venit et astitit coram eis; statimque sibi erat tota materia declarata; qui per mollia verba nitebatur eos sedare et dictum clericum de eorum manibus liberare. Illi vero e contrario magnis vocibus exclamantes dixerunt sanctuarium non debere ipsum salvare, quia deliquit in eo, et si vellet tenere quod tales salvaret, posset esse causa destructionis regni totius, quod absit. Plura et alia verba fuerunt sibi prolata, sed demum onerarunt ipsum abbatem praefatum clericum custodire usque in diem quartum sub poena sua temporalia amittendi, ut interim discuteretur per parliamentum qualem poenam clericus saepedictus subiret. Quod audiens clericus antedictus praeparavit se tam deo quam mundo, ac si continuo moreretur, et collocavit se juxta feretrum sancti Edwardi opem et juvamen ab ipso jugiter implorando . . . Quo etiam die [sc. 30 May] communes et domini de parliamento petierunt praefatum clericum sibi de sanctuario Westmonasteriensi liberari, aut in eodem debere pro suis delictis puniri, quia esset absurdum quod delicta remaneant impunita. Constat namque ipsum contra omnes existentes in regno graviter deliquisse in revelando regni secreta in exteras regiones; nec tales quampluribus videtur debere defendere aut fovere sanctuarium praelibatum, sed potius ipsum quantocius ejicere ac saeculari judici tradere puniendum. Rex autem in contrarium sententiavit, asserens loca privilegiata censuris fore vallata, et si quis his contravenerit potest defacili illis involvi, et quamdiu eisdem sic fuerit involutus omnia facta sua postmodum ante absolutionem habitam in periculum suae animae indubie vergere dinoscuntur; et ideo de loco sacro quemquam extrahere vel ibidem punire nobis non est: igitur relinquendum est illius arbitrio puniendum, qui habet custodiam dicti loci. Ulterius promisit illis rex alloqui abbatem de ista materia, et omnia per dei gratiam feliciter terminare. Sed istis non obstantibus

primo die Junii clamosis vocibus iterato dictam materiam quidam domini et alii de communitate nefarie resumebant, et omnino dictum clericum tanquam proditorem vellent habere punitum. Inter quos erat dominus Radulphus Basset, qui nunquam loquebatur bonum de ecclesiastica libertate: protestando dixit melius fore quod non staret lapis super lapidem in praefato loco, quam sic tales proditores foveret, qui taliter secreta regni transmittebant ad exteras regiones; et revera si permittatur modo tales salvare, tale inconveniens in posterum forsitan sequeretur, quod si rex ibidem occideretur a casu, quod absit, ejus occisor impune inibi plena libertate gauderet, quod omnino foret absonum rationi. Plura his similia contra dominum abbatem hinc inde diversimode proponebant: postremo jusserunt ipsum dictum clericum custodire usque ad proximum parliamentum sub poena qua incumbit.

[3 June 1388; p. 183]. Item iii° die Junii apud Westmonasterium, completa missa solemni et sermone finito, coram magno altari in sede regia eatenus inibi praeparata, regnique principibus astantibus caeterisque dominis universis, positis etiam libro et cruce super parvulam mensam altaris, rex suum juramentum quod olim in sua coronatione praestitit renovavit: Domini vero tam spirituales quam temporales ea quae domino regi solebant in sua coronatione praestare cum omni subjectione ac grato animo sibi exhibuerunt. ⌜His expletis confestim omnes episcopi sub una stola coadunati sententiam excommunicationis fulminabant in illos qui hujusmodi sacramentum in posterum praesumpserint violare, seu regem contra dominos concitare aut ipsum eorum falsis suggestionibus provocare⌝.[1]

[Nov. 1388; p. 200]. Item post principium mensis Novembris venit rex Westmonasterium et obtulit feretro sancti Edwardi unum annulum aureum, in quo est rubea gemma inclusa magni pretii et valoris.[2]

[Feb. 1389; p. 203]. In principio mensis Februarii misit rex pro abbate Westmonasteriensi ad comparendum coram eo ibidem responsuro super querelis et gravaminibus quae illi de capella sancti Stephani contra eum nequiter intentabant. Dixerunt namque ipsum agere in curia Romana post prohibitionem regis ad privationem sive inhabilitationem suorum beneficiorum, et hac de causa monachum quendam ad dictam curiam destinasse. Super istis dati sunt judices ad sententiandum: judices vero tale judicium super eum dederunt, quod si foret verum ita eum fecisse prout illi asseruerunt merito temporalia sua amitteret indilate, et corpus suum in carceribus poneretur ubi rex voluerit assignare. Istud fuit deductum tandem coram consilio domini regis abbate praesente, qui diversimode excusavit se, promittensque illis si fuerit opportunum suum monachum a curia revocare. Rex vero his auditis, quamvis abbas contra prohibitionem deliquerit prosequendo causam suam in curia contra illos

[1] The words bracketed thus ⌜ ⌝ are in the lower margin, but by the same hand.
[2] Comp. *Lib. Nig. Quat.* ff. 86, 108 *b*.

de capella praefata, nihilominus totum remisit, volens ecclesiam suam ea parte servare incolumem.

Constat namque quod ista causa, quae adhuc vertitur et agitatur inter abbatem et conventum Westmonasteriensem et decanum dictae capellae infra palatium regium situatae, habuit inceptionem parum ante mortem regis Edwardi tertii a conquestu, ac magnis sumptibus dictorum religiosorum huc usque continuata. Interim vero dicti religiosi sustinuerunt ea de causa dispendia non modica et jacturas, videlicet in amissione suorum temporalium tempore Michaelis de la Pole cancellarii *domini* regis; quamvis rex nihil percepit de eisdem, tamen circa prosecutionem eorundem erat eis satis damnosum. Causa discordiae fuit ista: nam praedicti religiosi ea vellent exercere ibidem in illos et alios infra palatium praefatum degentes quae ordinariae jurisdictionis sunt, secundum quod antiquitus dinoscitur eos fecisse: sed postea multorum precibus et instantia pariter inclinati, propter bonum pacis et concordiae, triginta octo personas ejusdem collegii exemerunt, et plura his ampliora illis postmodum processu temporum concesserunt; nec tamen eorum aviditati satisfacere potuissent, quin in omni tractatu aliquod novum concedendum semper illis callide porrexerunt, prout in eorum tractatibus plenius continentur. Religiosi vero causam in curia ventilabant, et pro eis tres sententias reportarunt, ipsis suspensis a divinis cum eorum capella; in qua suspensione diu postea usque ad ista tempora perstiterunt. Qui semper dictis religiosis damna et incommoda regi et universis regni dominis profecto interim nefarie procurabant. Immo vigilanter et atrociter incitabant isto tempore dominum regem, ducem Gloucestriae, dominum Thomam archiepiscopum Eboracensem, cancellarium Angliae, et alios generosos contra praefatos religiosos, ad inducendum eos causam et prosecutionem suam dimittere et eorum ordinationi submittere indilate: quodque factum multum displicuit religiosis praedictis, quia quos antea habuerunt dominos et amicos nunc eorum mala informatione, nolentes eos submittere eorum dominationibus, prout illi eorum potestatibus subdiderunt, de amicis ad inimicitias sunt conversi.

[13 Dec. 1389; p. 219]. Item xiii° die Decembris dux Lancastriae venit Westmonasterium cum honorabili comitiva militum dominorum et aliarum venerabilium personarum. Exivit enim contra eum major cum senioribus Londoniae. Abbas vero et conventus Westmonasteriensis in suis froccis usque ad portam monasterii versus Toothull processionaliter exierunt, et in ecclesiam usque magnum altare, cantando responsorium *Honor virtus*, solemniter adduxerunt. Dicta vero oratione ab abbate factisque suis oblationibus confestim ad sanctum Paulum equester accessit, et demum in suum hospitium se recepit.

[10 Mar. 1390; p. 222]. Item x° die Martii misit rex Westmonasterium unum par sotularium de rubeo velvetto gemmis margaritis ad modum florum deliciarum confectum, a papa Urbano VI° parum ante ejus obitum

benedictum, ad reponendum ibidem cum aliis ornamentis regalibus ad regis coronationem spectantibus in praefato monasterio custoditis. Constat namque quod rex statim post coronationem suam domum revestiarii intraret, ubi sua regalia deponeret et alia indumenta sibi per suos cubicularios adaptata assumeret, et abhinc via proximiori in palatium suum rediret. Sed e contra fuit factum in coronatione istius regis, et male: nam quidam miles vocatus dominus Simon Burlee, peracta coronatione, assumpsit regem suis regalibus sic vestitum inter sua brachia, per portam regiam palatium ingrediens; turbis hinc inde occurrentibus et illum prementibus in eundo unum de sotularibus regalibus benedictis per incuriam ibidem amisit. Igitur nostrates caveant in posterum ne ullatenus permittant regem cum insigniis regalibus amplius extra ecclesiam exire; sed ut moris est completa coronatione divertat in domum revestiarii, ut praedicitur, et ibi sua regalia ornamenta honeste deponat.[1]

[8 May 1390; p. 235]. Item octavo die Maii consecratus est frater Alexander [blank] in episcopum Assavensem apud Westmonasterium ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, qui ⌜fuit et⌝[2] est confessor domini regis, de ordine praedicatorum magister in theologia. Ad istam solemnitatem accesserunt rex et regina ac alii nobiles generosi.

[13 Oct. 1390; p. 241]. Veniente itaque festo *translationis* sancti Edwardi rex fuit in monasterio Westmonasteriensi ad primas vesperas et ad completorium cum tota sua capella. Ad matutinas etiam media nocte aderat cum sua capella. Ad processionem vero in die erat et ad missam magnam in choro residebat cum sua capella circumdante corona. Parum post principium magnae missae intravit regina solemniter coronata in chorum, et in aquilonali parte secessit. Officium quoque divinum episcopus Londoniensis peregit.

[20 Nov. 1390; p. 243]. In festivitate sancti Edmundi regis et martyris fuit rex in monasterio Westmonasteriensi ad vesperas et ad matutinas in nocte. In die vero erat ad processionem et ad magnam missam, deditque conventui pro suo labore decem marcas.

[3 May 1391; p. 247].[3] Tertio die Maii apud Toothull erat duellum inter duos felones, scilicet inter appellatorem et defensorem; victus est appellator, quamvis habuerit justiorem querelam. Nam sponte fatebatur coram omnibus quod alio anno, ejus suasu et hortatu, quidam fugitivus,

[1] See above, p. 71. Comp. Adam of Usk's Chronicle: 'In coronacione istius domini tria regalitatis insignia tria sibi infortunia portentabant: primo, in processione unum de coronacionis sotularibus perdidit,' &c: ed. E. M. Thompson, 1904, p. 42; and for a further reference see his note on p. 202, 'prophecia militis Francie ad ejus coronacionem existentis, ubi vidit regis sotularem ad terram cadentem' (from MSS. in Brit. Mus.).

[2] Inserted by the original hand.

[3] In the margin, written by the original hand, partly cut away in binding: '[Not]a dolos perversis [m]odicum valere: [vi]de inferius de [Jo]he Paule in [iiii]° folio sequenti': see below, p. 90.

[qui] ad sanctuarium sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis confugiebat, exivit, sicque dolose fuit comprehensus et tandem suspensus: qui ipsum jam pugnando acriter infestavit ac impedivit quominus posset victoriam obtinere, prout sibi videbatur pro vero. Hanc autem assertionem fore validam jurejurando firmavit, sicut ipse in die judicii vellet animam suam habere coram summo deo.

[26 Sep. 1390; p. 260]. Dux namque Gloucestriae modicum ante recessum suum versus Prussyam misit ad ecclesiam sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis unum nobile vestimentum de panno aureo rubei coloris cum aurifragiis de nigro velvetto contextis cum litteris grossis sub hac figuratione T. A. compositis cum cygnis[1] ⌜de margaritis⌝ ejusdem quantitatis intermixtis, miro immo diverso modo insutis ac artificiose insertis, —vestimentum praedictum mirifice adornabant. Fueruntque ejusdem vestimenti iii capae, i casula, ii tunicellae, iii albae, cum stolis et manipulis unius sectae Contulit etiam eodem die unum jocale argenteum ac deauratum ac subtiliter fabricatum in cujus medio situatur una fistula de beryllo satis capax ad collocandum in ea corpus Dominicum cum in processione deferri immineat. Donavit etiam ii pelves argenteas et deauratas artificiose compositas pro manuum lotione ad magnum altare; item ii candelabra, scilicet imagines argenteas et deauratas, vultus angelicos praeferentes: item unum thuribulum argenteum et deauratum magni valoris. Ceterum haec omnia erant per eum antea ecclesiae praedictae collata, sed per indenturam postea reaccepit, et obligavit se heredes et executores suos obligatione pervalida dictae ecclesiae, quatenus ut omnia bona praemissa post mortem suam in adeo bono statu saepedictae ecclesiae restituerentur quo ea accepit, quae jam in ultima donatione bonorum sunt ruptae voluntarie per eum et pro perpetuo annullatae. Igitur xxvi° die Septembris, postquam commendasset se beato Petro et sancto Edwardo praedictae ecclesiae patronis, praefatus dux Gloucestriae iter suum arripuit versus Prussyam . . .[2]

[22 Dec. 1391; p. 264]. Item xxii° die Decembris abbas Westmonasteriensis intravit aquam et iter arripuit versus Romam, habuitque licentiam a rege absentare se ab Anglia per duos annos, cupiens interim se a debito liberare.[3]

[1] cignis *cod.* The Bohun swans are meant. The next two words are inserted above the line. T. and A. represent Thomas and Alianora.

[2] There is some uncertainty as to the history of this gift: see *Lib. Nig. Quat.* ff. 85*b*, 86*b*, 100, for indentures relating to it. The items are not in the Inventory of June 1388, save as a later insertion.

[3] Comp. *Lib. Nig. Quat.* f. 87*b*. 'Anno domini millesimo ccc . . et r. r. Ricardi xv^{to}, quartodecimo die Decembris W. Colchestre abbas Westmon' transfretavit pro negociis domini Regis. Et dominus Rex suscepit eum et omnia bona sua in proteccione sua. Et quod quietus sit de placitis et querelis &c. Et hec concessa sunt per literam patentem domini Regis per biennium duraturam' (the date is probably taken from the Letters Patent. We have a licence from the Abbot to Ric. Circestre to go abroad which is dated on St. Thomas's day: see above, p. 73).

[23 Apr. 1392; p. 265]. Item xxiii° die Aprilis dominus noster rex apud Westmonasterium fecit solemnes immo sumptuosas exequias pro sorore sua Matilda comitissa sancti Pauli in cereis et luminaribus circa feretrum illius, in pannis nigris et aureis ac pauperum distributione. Nam in ista erogatione quilibet pauper accepit ad minus iiii denarios. Item in vexillis et labaris circa feretrum ejusdem erectis, quae mirifice rutilarunt. Erant enim depicta in illis omnia arma regum Christianorum, ducum etiam et comitum Anglicorum. Quae omnia, excepta pauperum distributione, praecepto domini regis ecclesiae Westmonasteriensi erant relicta.

[May 1392; p. 270]. Item de mense Maii quidam domicellus familiaris et serviens ad opera diversa ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis, nomine Johannes Paule, pro morte cujusdam hominis indictatus, circa medium mensis Maii erat captus, et saepius coram judice de banco domini regis pro illo homicidio impetitus nunquam de illa felonia potuit se congrue excusare. Ideo xxiiii^to^ die Maii fuit pro illo delicto adjudicatus ad furcas suspendi. Cum vero duceretur ad furcas, fatebatur se dignum morte pati, quia erat falsus et ingratus deo et ecclesiae Westmonasteriensi. Primo quia cautelose quosdam allexit exire de sanctuario sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis, et postea erant capti et suspensi. Secundo autem suasit quosdam etiam de sanctuario praedicto exire, qui incontinenti fuerant comprehensi, et coram judice de crimine convicti ad perpetuos carceres fuerant mancipati. Tertio prodidit nequiter Robertum Tresylian tempore parliamenti, quando domini temporales contra quosdam regnicolas erant moti, in sanctuario occulte latitantem; de quo dicti domini violenter extraxerunt et a turri Londoniae usque ad furcas per medium civitatis tractum apud Tybourne illico suspenderunt. Ecce quomodo deus remunerat tales falsarios, immo possent dici potius ecclesiarum violatores ac etiam illarum libertatum nequissimi effractores. Patet namque quod dolus et fraus nemini patrocinari deberet; vide supra de ista materia in fine quarti folii.[1]

[21 Aug. 1392; p. 275].[2] Abhinc retro tramite perrexerunt usque ad portam monasterii Westmonasteriensis, ubi occurrebat ei prior et conventus revestiti et albis capis induti, cum crucibus cereis thuribulis et textis. Quos videns rex et regina ilico descenderunt de equis, et depositis coronis osculati sunt textus; deinde in revertendo versus ecclesiam conventus cantabat responsorium *Agnus in altari*. Demum

[1] See above p. 88.

[2] On his reconciliation with the city of London, the king had been magnificently received and conducted as far as Temple Bar. It may be noted that among the chief citizens sent to plead the city's cause with the king were Henry Yevele and Richard Whityngton (p. 270): the former was doubtless the king's mason, who was superintending the work of the new nave at Westminster, and the latter the famous citizen who in 1413 was charged with setting forward the same work.

venientes ante magnum altare conventus canebat antiphonam *Solve jubente.* Dominus rex interim super gradus marmoreos devote genuflexit, et post ipsum venit regina et similes devotiones peregit: dicta collecta pro rege conventus intrabat ad feretrum sancti Edwardi cum illa antiphona *Ave sancte rex Edwarde.* Completa oratione et factis suis oblationibus rex in suum palatium est reversus.[1]

[11 Oct. 1392; p. 277]. Nono [*aliter* xi°][2] die Octobris dominus rex cum conventu Westmonasteriensi nudis pedibus processionaliter transivit exeundo per portam de Toothull usque sanctum Jacobum, et ab eo loco processit usque crucem de Charryngg: et abhinc divertebat se per viam regiam usque ecclesiam sancti Petri Westmonasterii, factisque ibidem devotionibus suis in suum palatium illico est reversus. Transieruntque cum domino rege nudis pedibus quidam de suis clericis, perpauci tamen, conventu Westmonasteriensi excepto qui nudus etiam cum eo transivit. Sequenti vero die dominus rex cum sua capella venit in chorum dicti monasterii ad vesperas, episcopo Londoniensi servitium officiante. Ad matutinas quoque erat rex cum sua capella, et in crastino ad processionem et ad magnam missam; qua finita perrexit in aulam abbatis, ubi splendide in maximo apparatu suos dominos et dominas qui tunc cum eo praesentes extiterint, et conventum totum pro majore parte, laute refecit.

[7 Feb. 1393; p. 279]. Septimo die Februarii fures quandam fenestram prope la Puwe[3] fregerunt ex parte aquae nocturno tempore, et intrantes asportarunt jocalia ibi propter devotionem beatae Virgini oblata ad valorem quingentarum marcarum. Item xiii° die Februarii idem fures vel alii nocte invaserunt ecclesiam sancti Johannis Baptistae juxta Smethefeld, et fregerunt unam fenestram dictae ecclesiae, et intrantes in vestibulum ejusdem crucem unam magni valoris, jocalia, pannos sericos et quosdam alios de velvetto abstulerunt ad valorem mille marcarum. Facto

[1] The king is received by the Prior, the Abbot being abroad: see above p. 89. The Antiphons are printed from a Bodleian MS. in Dr. Wickham Legg's edition of the Westminster Missal, vol. III. col. 1348, 1359, 1379 (cf. 1381):

(1) 'Agnus in altari cum cepit sacrificari,
luce videt clara puerum rex sanctus in ara.'
(2) 'Solve jubente deo terrarum Petre catenas,
qui facis ut pateant celestia regna beatis.'
(3) 'Ave, sancte rex Edwarde,
inter caeli lilia;
meritis tuis exornans
regnantes in gloria;
nos omnes te diligentes
duc ad vera gaudia'

The first refers to the vision of the Christ-child in the Eucharist granted to St. Edward.

[2] The second figure, which is written above the line as a correction, is the right one, as the Feast of the Translation of St. Edward is on 13 October.

[3] Our Lady of Pity, in the Chapel of St Stephen, at the Palace.

divulgato milites dictae domus celeriter ascenderunt eorum equos, et per plura loca Angliae dictos latrones diligentius perquirentes, [et] in tantum operam dabant quod infra quindenam quinque comprehenderunt ex eis, quorum confessione innotuit eis ubi bona eorum ac etiam de la Puwe fuerunt per eos furtim deducta. Erant enim quaedam ipsorum bonorum in quodam puteo profundo juxta Oxonias, quem dicti fures foderunt, inventa. Et circa principium mensis Maii ad palatium domini regis fuerant reportata. Sicque pro majori parte dicta bona erant recuperata, tam sancti Johannis quam sancti Stephani, tamen mutilata in multis et laesa.

[20 June 1393; p. 280]. Item xx° die Junii venerunt de tractatu[1] duces Lancastriae et Gloucestriae, fueruntque ad anniversarium patris eorum domini Edwardi tertii, quondam regis Angliae.

[7 June 1394; p. 283]. Septima die Junii apud manerium de Shene obiit Anna regina Angliae et filia imperatoris, quem summo mane nono die Junii dominus Thomas de Arundell archiepiscopus Eboracensis et cancellarius Angliae in ecclesia sancti Petri Westmonasteriensis sepelivit[2].

[1] They had gone to Calais to treat for peace, 5 March.

[2] The date of the burial can hardly be correct. Adam of Usk (ed. p. 9) says: 'Post ejus Anne sepulture solempnitatem in crastino ad Vincula sancti Petri debitis honoribus decoratam, statim rex lugubri veste cum suis indutus ad domandam Hybernencium rebellionem maximo exercitu constipatus transit in Hyberniam.' The morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula is 2 August; and in the Treasurers' roll for 1393-4 we find the following entry: 'Et in recreacione facta iii° die Augusti in exequiis Anne Regine Epis̄ Dunelmen' Wynton' Sarum Landaven' Domine Ducisse Gloucestr' et aliis supervenientibus xlii*s* viii*d*'.

TRAJAN'S COLUMN

By GIACOMO BONI

Read May 29, 1907.

In the month of March, 1906, when I first began to give special attention to the problem of the column of Trajan, it was a common belief among students of Roman archaeology and topography that the column had been erected to show the height of a hill which had been cut away in order to level the area for the Forum Ulpium. At the same time it was doubted whether the monument had ever been used as a sepulchre, that is to say, whether it contained a vault, there being no entrance or door leading into it.

Even the magnitude of the hill which it was supposed had been removed was calculated and estimated to be 24,000,000 cubic feet, and search had been made to discover the place in which so enormous a mass could have been unloaded.

Dion Cassius said that the pillar had been erected not only to serve as Trajan's tomb, but also to survey the majestic buildings of the Forum. Of these two statements the first was overlooked or denied, and the meaning of the second has been misconstrued by commentators.

Now, with regard to the original statements, Dion Cassius could, and no doubt did, speak from personal observation, but the commentator must have relied either upon tradition or upon what he learned to be the current reading of the dedicatory inscription of the column, or on his own verbal interpretation.

We must remember that Dion Cassius, an Asiatic Greek, was writing nearly a century after the column had been put up, and that the fragments of the book in which he mentioned Trajan's work

[1] In the passage referring to Trajan in Dion Cassius (lxviii. 16) the part which seems to me fairly original is: *κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ βιβλίων ἀποθήκας. καὶ ἔστησεν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κίονα μέγιστον, ἅμα μὲν ἐς ταφὴν ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου* = 'he built the libraries and also raised in the Forum a large column not only to serve as his tomb but also to show from above the work done in order to build the Forum.'

There is a change of tone in the following paragraph, which reads like a later explanatory note: *παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου ὀρεινοῦ ὄντος κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνίσχει, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τούτου πεδινὴν κατεσκεύασε* = 'The whole of that place being mountainous, Trajan excavated it to the same depth as the height of the column, and so he was able to build his forum on level ground'.

were handed down to us by Byzantine compilers who lived at Constantinople nine centuries later.

Further, other ancient writers confirm the statement as to the column having been a sepulchral monument. Thus, Eutropius says that 'Trajan was the only one of the emperors who had been buried within the city. The cremated bones, collected in a golden urn, were deposited under the column in the forum which he had constructed.'[1] Eusebius,[2] in his translation of St. Jerome, repeats this information in almost the same words. Aurelius Victor,[3] in his Epitome, says exactly the same, but in more condensed form. Cassiodorus,[4] the secretary of the Ostrogoth dynasty, and Jordanes[5] its Gothic bishop, later on confirm this view.

The traditional and accepted interpretation of the last two lines of the inscription (AD DECLARANDVM QVANTAE ALTITVDINIS MONS ET LOCVS TANTIS OPERIBVS SIT EGESTVS) was as follows: 'In order to indicate how high a mountain and place had been removed by so much labour'. ALTITVDO meant first height and then extent, EGERERE meant both excavate and carry away; LOCVS had really no meaning at all.

As this interpretation of Dion Cassius and of the inscription seemed to me to ignore a point of great importance, I thought it essential in the first place to try to ascertain whether the column did or did not actually contain a sepulchral chamber, such as we find represented in engravings of the sixteenth century.

On the southern side of the pedestal a loophole, like those openings which admit light into the spiral staircase of the column, was still visible, although it had been walled up from the inside. And on the left side of the vestibule, traces were visible of the joints and architrave of a door which had been walled up and plastered over as late as the second half of the eighteenth century.

Mediaeval hands had excavated a grotto in the concrete foundation of the column. This grotto contained eighteen skeletons. I removed

[1] 'Solus omnium intra urbem sepultus est. Ossa conlata in urnam auream in foro quod aedificavit sub columna posita sunt' (*Breviarium ab Urbe condita*).

[2] 'Ossa eius in urnam auream conlata et in foro sub columna posita, solusque omnium intra Urbem sepultus' (*Chron. Canonum liber*).

[3] 'Huius exusti corporis cineres relati Romam humatique Traiani Foro sub eius columna' (*Epit.* xiii).

[4] 'Cuius ossa in urna aurea collocata sub columna fori quae eius nomine vocitatur recondita sunt' (*Chronicon*).

[5] 'Ossaque eius in urna aurea conlocata et in foro sub columna posita solusque omnium imperatorum intra urbem sepultus' (*De summa temporum*).

And Dion Cassius (lxix. 2) said that the ashes of Trajan were placed in this column by the emperor Hadrian: τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ κίονι αὐτοῦ κατετέθη.

them and filled up with solid masonry this cavity, which was dangerous to the stability of the monument.

Then I turned my attention to the mysterious door · I removed the plaster, cut away part of the masonry, and found it led into a small atrium turning to the right, where a second door was discovered. This second door led into the funeral chamber. From the inside of this chamber I could remove the bricks closing up the loophole which had first attracted my attention. The chamber is ten feet long, five feet wide, and six feet high. In it could be traced the remains of a funeral table two and a half feet high and four feet wide. This had been cut away in the middle ages in order to widen the available space when the column was used as a belfry for the church of S. Nicola de Columna.

Just above the mark in the north wall of the chamber I noticed that holes had been drilled in such a way as to indicate that not only one but two urns had been kept in place on the table. My conclusion was that the two urns might have contained the ashes of Trajan and his wife Plotina. An important inscription now in the lapidarium of the Vatican confirmed this inference. We know that Hadrian erected a temple in front of the column of Trajan. In 1696, while excavating the foundation for a new church near by, a large fragment of the inscription on Hadrian's temple was discovered. This fragment is the inscription I refer to. It states that Hadrian erected this temple in honour of his parents, i. e. Trajan and Plotina his widow.

This custom of erecting a temple near the sepulchral monument is a well-known one; for instance, when Hadrian himself died near Baiae, a temple was put up by Antoninus Pius *pro sepulcro* at Pozzuoli.

This epigraphical evidence makes it almost sure that Plotina also was buried near Trajan; and it was, indeed, quite to be expected that this would have been done, because we know also from contemporary evidence, that of Pliny [1], that Plotina was specially held up as a model of affection and fidelity to her husband.

Having thus ascertained that the main object of the column was a sepulchral monument, I turned my attention to some other facts. The height of the shaft of the column, from the plinth of the base to the abacus of the column, measures exactly one hundred Roman feet. It was a *columna centenaria.* Indeed, owing to the perfection of the joints, which are only one-tenth of a millimetre, I was able by precise trigonometrical measurements to ascertain from the column

[1] 'Panegyric on Trajan.'

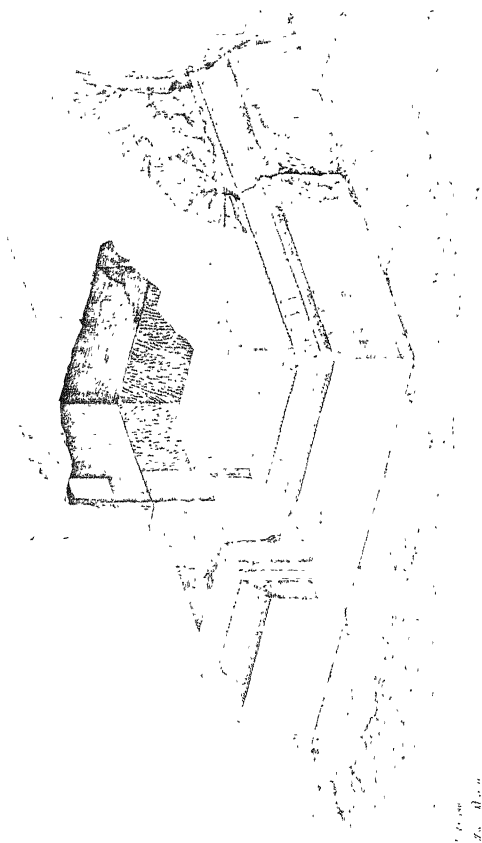
the length of the Roman foot, with a precision that had never been attained before.

The spiral staircase inside the column was laboriously cut from monolithic drums, and was evidently made to enable people to get a view from the top, just as outside the Paneion of Alexandria there was a spiral staircase or slope, for the purpose of obtaining a panoramic view of the new city.

Now, in the second place, historians older than Trajan state implicitly that the ground between the Capitol and the Quirinal was a valley wide enough for besieging forces to occupy as a camp: for instance, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who spent twenty-two years of his life in Rome during the reign of Augustus, states that the Sabine army led by king Tatius encamped there, and Livy informs us that Fabius Dorso, while the Capitolium was being besieged by the Gauls, desiring to perform certain funeral rites on the Quirinal, had to pass across the besieging army.

Further, the formation of the ground there is such as to have led geologists as early as the last century to the conclusion that not a narrow gorge blocked by hills but a wide and deep valley must have stretched right across it. Furthermore, the so-called walls of the kings on the summit of the Quirinal overlooking the valley stand on rocks which are only about half the height of the column of Trajan.

Now, if there had been between the Capitol and the Quirinal a hill higher than either, that hill must certainly have been mentioned, and would have had a name.

As these facts seemed to be contradictory to the conclusions of other archaeologists that there had been a hill there, I considered the question whether it would not be possible by excavations to find such traces of the hill or of the absence of the hill as would settle the matter. If a hill had been cut away, the pavements of the Forum Ulpium ought to have been laid over geological strata. Such strata on this spot must have been either volcanic tufa or pliocene sands or marine clays. I therefore sank pits in various places, beyond and around the tomb of Bibulus, within the areas of the Greek and Latin library (Bibliotheca Ulpia)—near the base of the sepulchral column of Trajan, across the width of the Basilica, in the atrium, and under the pavement of the eastern hemicycle; and in every case I met not with geological strata containing those fossil remains which are characteristic of that district, but with the remains of early imperial and republican activity, such as roads, foundations and pavements of houses, drains, and remains of a wall made of blocks of tufa, exactly like those used in the fortifications still extant on

the Quirinal. This wall I take to be part of the fortifications which, as we know from Livy, were built in the fourth century B.C., after the retreat of the Gauls.

Having thus ascertained that there had never been a hill there, I turned back to the inscription in order to consider whether any other interpretation than the current one, not in such flagrant contradiction with the facts, and more in keeping with the dignity of the Roman Senate and of the column itself, would not be possible.

Let us, therefore, call to mind once more what the words of the inscription actually are :—

AD DECLARANDVM QVANTAE ALTITVDINIS
MONS ET LOCVS TANTIS OPERIBVS SIT EGESTVS.

We have here two verbs, *declarare* and *egerere*. The first has the preposition *de* and the second the preposition *ex*. Thus, prepositions are often found in examples of Latin verbs such as *destruo* and *exstruo* = to take down and to put up. The connotation of direction implied in these prepositions would be better illustrated by the difference between *declamare* and *exclamare*. These two verbs do not mean declaim and exclaim, but have reference to the direction of sound. *Declamare* was used originally only of an orator speaking down from the tribune, while *exclamare* was used of the people below shouting up from the lower level. So Cicero says : 'Contiones saepe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba cecidissent' (*Orat.* 50).

Ad declarandum seemed to me, therefore, to mean 'for the purpose of making clear from above.'

Egestus, at the other end, must mean built up on high, just as Georges, the German lexicographer, a long time ago rendered it as *emporgefuhrt* ; in a secondary sense, because the verb was used in connexion of such a work as digging a well and sinking a pit, in each case an empty space was left, and the word acquired, therefore, the connotation of emptying, scooping out, carrying away.

We have therefore to choose; and in the case before us the meaning of the verb is determined by the two nouns *mons et locus*.

Mons, a hill, may be easily ascertained to be the slope of the Quirinal artificially raised to nearly twice its original height by the galleries and terraces erected upon it to enable the people to see what was going on in the Forum. As the hill was built upon, the meaning of *egerere* with respect to the *mons* could not have been 'to cut away'.

Locus I define as that part of space which has been set aside by destiny for a determined purpose. Such a *locus* cannot be cut to

pieces and carted away, for in the opinion of the early Romans *locus*, or its Terminus which makes evident to human eyes its boundaries, was a materialized form of Necessity existing before the gods and beyond their power.

Finally, *tantis operibus* I took to refer not to the manual labour of slaves, but to the architectural works by which Apollodorus or his predecessors of the Flavian epoch had ennobled and beautified both the *mons* and the *locus*.

So my interpretation of the controverted part of the inscription is as follows :—

'*In order to make visible (that is from the summit of the column, one hundred feet above the sepulchre of Trajan) how much in elevation the hill (slope of Quirinal) and the site (of the Forum Ulpium) had been raised up by such noble works of art.*'

SUMMARY

SPENSERIANA

By I. GOLLANCZ

SECRETARY OF THE ACADEMY

Read November 29, 1907

I

Of foremost interest was a copy of the *editio princeps* of *The Faerie Queene* (the earlier issue of the book, before the Sonnet to Lord Burleigh had been added [1]), which appears from internal evidence to have been Spenser's own copy. On the title-page of this volume,[2] which was submitted to the meeting, among other inscriptions, are the words *Προς αυτον*, which struck me, on seeing the page, as having the force of *ad se*—that is, 'from the author to himself'. The Greek is unmistakably in the late sixteenth-century hand, the capital *Π* pointed at the top. The phrase can only mean, in the opinion of all those with whom I have consulted, that the particular copy had been reserved by the author for himself. The late Sir Richard Jebb took this view, and, with reference to the writing, enthusiastically declared it to be 'the Greek of a poet and dreamer of the Renaissance'.[3] Spenser and his circle of friends were addicted to the use of occasional Greek, as may be seen from the letters which passed between him and Gabriel Harvey, who frequently wrote a Greek word or two on the title-pages of his books.

Other notes on the title-page of the Spenser volume are two lines (running along the left-hand margin) evidently in memory of Spenser:—

> In life, and death, most strickt in writ(e)/ accord,
> he liud, hee dide, y^t^ seruant of y^e^ Lord ;[4]

while in the right-hand corner are the initials D. S. and T. B., bracketed

[1] See § IV.

[2] The quarto was bought by me from Mr. Robson, who bought it at Sotheby's in 1900. It is half an inch taller than the quarto as issued—to judge by extant copies, and especially by a copy in the original vellum binding also in my possession.

[3] The word *προς* is written, in a slightly later Greek hand, a second time under *αυτον*; the difference in the caligraphy of the word repeated is noteworthy.

[4] i. e. in right accord, he lived, he died, that servant, &c.

together, the D being changed from some other letter. At the bottom of the page is the statement, 'm[r] iohn borlace gaue mee this booke/1630,' probably to be identified with John Borlace the son of Sir John Borlace who in 1633 was appointed Master of the Ordnance of Ireland: his other son Edmund was the famous historian of the Irish Rebellion; this Borlace family was also connected with the Isham family. But there were many ramifications and branches of the Borlace family.

In addition to these manuscript notes on the title-page, towards the end of the volume, on the blank left-hand page facing Spenser's letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, are written the following lines:—

A ſa mistreſſe.

Happy ye leaves when as thoſe lilly Hands
That houlds my life in hir deaddoing might
Shall handle yo[u] and hold in Loves ſwete bandes
Like captives trembling at y[e] victors ſight

Happy ye lines when as w[ith] ſtarry light
Those lamping eies ſhall deigne on yo[u] to looke
And reade the ſorowes of my dieng ſpright
written w[ith] tears in harts cloſe bleedinge book.

Happy ye rymes bathde in y[e] ſacred brook
of Helicon whence ſhee derived is
when as you ſhall beholde y[t] angells looke
my ſoules longe lacked foode my heavens bliſſe.

Leaves, lines & rymes ſeeke her to pleaſe alone
Whome if yo[u] pleaſe I care for others none/.

The lines undoubtedly represent the first form of Sonnet I of Spenser's *Amoretti*, and, apart from their supreme fascination from many points of view, are of great value as illustrative of Spenser's method and style of writing, and as throwing light on the history of the Sonnet sequence, addressed by Spenser to Elizabeth Boyle, to whom he became devoted about 1591–2, soon after the publication of the first three books of *The Faerie Queene*, and whom he married in 1594. The *Amoretti*, together with the *Epithalamion*, licensed for publication in 1594, appeared in 1595. It would seem therefore that Spenser sent his own copy of *The Faerie Queene* to the lady who at last was to displace his earlier love for 'the widow's daughter of the Glen', inscribing therein the Sonnet, which was subsequently to form the prelude to the whole sequence of the *Amoretti*. The changes

introduced in the printed form clearly indicate later revision.[1] Thus now for the first time the real force and meaning of the first Sonnet are made clear—namely, that it refers to 'leaves, lines, and rimes' of *The Faerie Queene*, and was written to ask the lady's acceptance of the book, the progress of which, we learn from the *Amoretti* (cp. Sonnets xxxiii; lxxx), was impeded by the distractions of his wooing.

[1] *Amoretti*, Sonnet I:—

'Happy ye leaues when as thofe lilly hands,
which hold my life in *their* dead doing might
fhall handle you and hold in loues *foft* bands,
lyke captiues trembling at the victors fight.
And happy lines, *on which* with ftarry light,
thofe lamping eyes *will* deigne *fometimes* to look
and reade the forrowes of my dying fpright,
written with teares in harts clofe bleeding book.
And happy rymes bath'd in the facied brooke,
of Helicon whence fhe deriued is
when *ye* behold that Angels *bleffed* looke,
my foules long lacked foode, my heauens blis.
Leaves, lines, and rymes, feeke her to pleafe alone,
whom if *ye* pleafe, I care for *other* none!

(Words in italics indicate the differences between the two versions.)

II

So far no scrap of poetry in Spenser's handwriting had been discovered, although there are several official State documents with at least nine signatures of Spenser extant. The result of my investigations as to Spenser documents among the *Irish State Papers* was to add at least one document to the two already accepted as being holographs (viz. the Record Office 'Reply to Commissioners on Plantation of Ulster', 1589[1]: and the undated deed, of about the same time, in the British Museum, Add. MS. 19869).[2] I would claim as a Spenser holograph

[1] Cp. *State Papers*, Irish, cxliv, 70; *Cal. State Papers*, Irish, 1588–92, ed. Hans Hamilton; 1598–9, ed. E G. Atkinson.

Some of the endorsements of documents, among those bearing his signature, may well be in Spenser's handwriting.

[2] The document was purchased 'among a number of other Roche papers from James Roche, of Cork, in 1854' (cp. *British Museum: Series of Autographs*).

an important indictment against his enemy Lord Roche, hitherto unrecognized as such, owing to interpolations between the clauses by another hand.[1] This, a two-paged paper, dated October 12, 1589, belongs to the same year as the other papers, and is actually about the same time as Spenser's departure with Sir Walter Raleigh for London, the two causes that took him there being the publication of *The Faerie Queene*, and 'private affairs'. The handwriting of the Sonnet *À Sa Mistresse* is written with greater care, and is more ornate than the writing of the documents; the heading is in the Italian hand with the long double *ff*, reminding one of Spenser's characteristic signature; whereas the Sonnet from the third to the fourteenth line is in the old English hand, the first two lines are in an artificial writing, italic for the most part, but with a picturesque Gothic *a* in the word *deaddoing*. No form of writing could more characteristically reflect the varying elements of Spenser's poetry. The cumulative evidence afforded by the volume, together with questions of date and style, all tend to confirm the conclusion, that here we have Spenser's own copy of *The Faerie Queene*, sent by him *À Sa Mistresse*, enriched with these dedicatory lines, which in revised form were to stand as the first of the long sonnet-sequence published later under the title of *Amoretti*. He seems to have kept true to the triumphant assertion in the closing lines of the Sonnet, for when in 1596 the second edition appeared of Books 1 to 3 of *The Faerie Queene*, the Dedicatory Sonnets to Noble Lords and Ladies, inserted in the first edition, were omitted.

[1] Messrs. Walker and Cockerell photographed for me these Spenser documents. In sending me the facsimile of the last lines and signature of this indictment Mr. S. C. Cockerell (now Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) made the following observation :—'A note on one of the photographs which I have disfigured with red ink is *very like* that of the sonnet, but this does not seem to be in Spenser's autograph. At any rate it is very different from the note enclosed in a line at the foot of the page.' On looking into the matter, I discovered that 'the note disfigured' was one of the main clauses of the indictment; that it was in the same handwriting as the indictment generally; while the 'note enclosed' was in a different hand, probably in that of the interpolator of the persons named (inserted between the items). There could be no doubt that the indictment was in the same hand as the two documents accepted as Spenser's holographs. Mr. Cockerell's observation was singularly helpful, more especially as the document at first sight did 'not seem to be in Spenser's autograph'. Hence it escaped the notice of the authorities and those who described the records. When once the whole document was reproduced there could be no question on the point. Later on I hope to publish all these Spenser documents, together with facsimiles of other documents of Spenserian interest.

III

Another volume submitted to the meeting threw new light on Spenser's history at the time he was writing *The Shepherd's Calendar*. The volume, a collection of books of travel bound together and annotated throughout, belonged to Gabriel Harvey,[1] Spenser's great friend. One of the items in the collection is 'The Traveiler of Ierome Turler, imprinted at London 1575', and the title-page bears in Gabriel Harvey's handwriting the following statement:—'Ex dono Edmundi Spenseri, Episcopi Roffensis Secretarii, 1578.' From this we now definitely know that Spenser's September Æglogue of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, where he speaks of himself as 'Roffy's Boy', has reference to the office he held under Dr. Young, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, Spenser's own college, created Bishop of Rochester in 1578; Spenser evidently was at once appointed secretary to the Bishop, an office no doubt gained for him at Gabriel Harvey's suggestion, to withdraw him from 'the northern soil that bewitched him', as referred to in the June Æglogue, and as E.K., Spenser's friend, states in his gloss to the passage. Gabriel Harvey's gift book from Spenser gives the long-sought clue to questions affecting date and interpretation of *The Shepherd's Calendar*. The tale of the Wolf and the Lamb may well refer to the history of Thomas Watson, the Romish bishop of Lincoln, who in January 1578–9 was committed to the keeping of the Bishop of Rochester, and caused difficulties. Incidentally, also, the reference is of interest, in connexion with the printed letters between Spenser and Gabriel Harvey, and more especially Spenser's Latin poem of October, 1579, referring to his approaching voyage and to Harvey's safe return from journeying

[1] The collection contains the following items:—(i) Twine's *Survey of the World (First written in Greek by Dionise Alexandrine)*, 1572; evidently Gabriel Harvey's in 1574; carefully read and briefly annotated by him; (ii) *The Post of the World*, 1576; 'Gabriel Harvey, 1580' (on title-page)—annotated; (iii) the 1576 edition of Richard Grafton's *Brief treatise conteyning many proper Tables and easie rules*; bought by Harvey at York in August, 1576; '*Gabrielis Harveii et amicorum*: one of my York pamphlets, 1576: then fitt for mie natural and mathematical studies, and exercises in Pembrooke hall'; carefully read and annotated; (iv) *The Traveiler*, Spenser's gift; carefully read and annotated by Harvey, who at the end writes the following statement, 'Legi pridie Cal. Decembres, 1578'; (v) *The Breviary of Britayne*, 1573; 'ex dono M^ri Browghton, Christensis, i. e. Dr. Hugh Broughton, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, the famous divine and rabbinical scholar, satirized by Ben Jonson in *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*.

The references in Gabriel Harvey's notes to the *Shepherd's Calendar* are not to Spenser's *Calendar*, but to the popular book which suggested to the poet the title of his work.

abroad. In the Bodleian Library there is a copy of the romance of *Howleglas*, given to Harvey by Spenser on December 22, in this same year, 1578, and Harvey has noted the quaint conditions of the gift (see Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*).

Prefixed to Harvey's small collection of travel books are some seven pages of notes in his handwriting dealing mainly with the place of astronomy in poetry. Starting with the astronomical descriptions in Chaucer and Lydgate, 'fine artists in many kinds, and much better learned than our modern poets,' he adduces various illustrations, and includes two interesting references to Spenser, one in Latin, the other in English:—

'Sæpè miratus sum, Chaucerum et Lidgatum tantos fuisse in diebus illis astronomos. Hodiernos poetas tam esse ignaros astronomiæ: præter Buclæum, Astrophilum, Blagravum, alios perpaucos, Uraniæ filios.

Pudet ipsum Spenserum, etsi Sphæræ astrolabiique non planè ignarum; suæ in astronomicis Canonibus, tabulis, instrumentisque imperitiæ. Præsertim, ex quo vidit Blagraui nostri Margaritam Mathematicam.'

'It is not sufficient for poets to be superficial humanists, but they must be exquisite artists, and curious universal scholars; Mr. Digges hath the whole Aquarius of Palingenius by heart, and takes much delight to repeat it often. Mr. Spenser conceives the like pleasure in the fourth day of the first Week of Bartas which he esteems as the proper profession of Urania.'

These words of Harvey recall Spenser's enthusiasm for Du Bartas, whom he addresses in the *L'Envoy* to Bellay, at the end of *The Ruins of Rome*:—

'And, after thee, gins Bartas hie to rayse
His heavenly Muse, th' Almightie to adore.
Live, happie spirits, th' honour of your name,
And fill the world with never dying fame.'

IV

The Paper concluded with observations on Spenser's bibliography in respect of *The Faerie Queene* quartos; the folios of Spenser's works; the MSS. of *The View of State of Ireland*, &c.

(1) There are two forms of the *editio princeps* (1590) of *The Faerie Queene*—(*a*) with the pages at the end properly numbered, but not containing the Sonnet to Burleigh; (*b*) with pages 601–4 cancelled and new pages (unnumbered) inserted between 600 and 605,[1] with the

[1] There is hopeless confusion in the placing of these pages in the old copies, and consequently in modern editions of Spenser. Grosart's arrangement is altogether wrong; that of the *Globe* edition is not quite so bad. The poet had to be particularly careful to give the Lord High Treasurer his proper place. In

Sonnet to Burleigh in its proper place, according to order of precedence, viz. immediately after the Sonnet addressed to the Lord High Treasurer. Spenser's feeling of resentment towards Burleigh is well known. Sir Walter Scott protests against the Sonnet's 'most flattering strain of adulation'. Evidently it was only at the urgent appeal of friends that the poet, contrary to his own feeling, consented to add the Sonnet. The earliest copies—only a very few are known—are without it.[1] (2) In close connexion with Spenser's attitude towards Burleigh must be considered the bibliographical problem in respect of the publication of *Mother Hubberd's Tale.* Issued originally in the volume of *Complaints*, 1591, 'called in' because of its caustic satire, it was not reprinted till 1612. It was not actually included in the 1611 first folio collected edition of 'the works of England's Arch-Poet Edmund Spenser', though often found inserted in that folio, but with a separate title-page dated 1612.[2] Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Burleigh's son, died May 24, 1612. Evidently during his lifetime the publishers could not obtain permission to print the offensive poem. Copies were made by hand; hence the 1607 MS., used by Grosart, now in the writer's possession.

the 1611 folio, and those printed from it, the Burleigh Sonnet is in its right position, but the last two Sonnets, 'to Lady Carew' and to 'the Ladies at the Court', are not found. Evidently the last page was missing from the quarto from which the Sonnets were printed. The folio of 1679 is correct.

[1] Cp. Nash's *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Devil,* where in a sonnet, praising *The Faerie Queene,* the omission of a 'renouned lord' from the list of those honoured by Spenser is specially deplored.

[2] In some copies the '2' is altered with printer's ink to look like '1', so that the date may harmonize with the date of the other pieces in the folio.

THE GOLD COINAGE OF ASIA BEFORE ALEXANDER THE GREAT

By PERCY GARDNER

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read January 29, 1908

I PROPOSE to give a brief account of the issues of gold money in Asia down to the time of Alexander the Great. A sketch of this kind may have its uses, since numismatists are apt to dwell on small points, and to neglect broader aspects of the subject, while the historians of Greece have often lacked that close familiarity with coins which is necessary before one can use their testimony with confidence and success. Coins are of all the materials for the reconstruction of ancient history the most trustworthy and objective, together with inscriptions, but their testimony must needs be weighed by a hand used to them before its value can be fully appreciated.

What I shall especially attempt is a chronological survey of the relations between the Persian state and the subject countries and cities, as they are reflected in the issues of gold and electrum coin. And in doing so we shall have carefully to consider the view now generally held, that the issue of gold coin was the exclusive privilege of the Great King, a privilege jealously guarded and enforced. Satraps of the Persian Empire were allowed to strike silver coins freely for the needs of military expeditions, and the Greek cities of the coast struck silver for ordinary purposes of trade. But no issue of gold coin was allowed, save under exceptional circumstances.

Although this view is generally accepted, yet it is not easy to establish it by quotations from ancient writers. Herodotus seems under the influence of such a view when he writes,[1] 'Darius wished to leave such a memorial of himself as no king had ever left before: therefore, refining his gold to the last degree of purity, he issued coins of it.' But this is, of course, no assertion of a principle of state, that no one else should issue coin. Nor in fact is it likely that the issue of gold coin was from the first looked upon as something quite

[1] iv. 166.

exceptional. The first issue of pure gold was due to Croesus, not to Darius. It seems likely that the principle that the issue of gold coin was the first privilege of authority was one which made its way slowly and perhaps almost unconsciously. From age to age it became more solidly fixed: and the Roman Empire maintained it even more rigidly than did that of Persia.

There is, however, another question as to which modern expert opinion is more divided. If we allow that the issue of gold was a right jealously guarded by the Great King, how far does this apply to the issues of white gold or electrum, of that mixture of gold and silver which was in ordinary use for coinage in the earliest period? Did Persia regard these as issues of gold? or did Persia place them on the level of issues of silver? or did it pursue a middle course in regard to their authorization? This is not an easy question; and it is one on which we may hope to throw some light in the course of the present investigation.

I propose to divide my subject into five sections, as follows:—

I. The early electrum coinage.
II. Croesus to Darius.
III. The Ionian Revolt.
IV. Electrum coins, B.C. 480–330.
V. Gold coins of the same period.

I. *The early Electrum Coinage.*

It is generally thought, alike by numismatists and historians, that the coinage of the western world took its origin on the coast of Asia Minor in the eighth or at latest in the seventh century B.C., in those primitive and rude coins of electrum, which are now abundant in our museums. Of this coinage I do not propose to treat in detail, as it has been the subject of able papers by Head, Babelon, and other writers,[1] nor is it possible to discuss it without taking into account a multitude of small numismatic considerations, the introduction of which would thwart the purpose of the present paper, which is to give a broad historic sketch. I will, however, give a brief summary of views held in regard to it.

In the first place, it has been disputed to whom belongs the honour of the first invention of coins. We know from Julius Pollux that this question was much discussed by his learned authorities. He writes[2] that it was disputed 'whether coins were first issued by Pheidon of

[1] Head in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875; *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Ionia*, Introduction. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, Part II, vol. i, where further references. Also *Revue Numismatique*, 1894 and 1895.

[2] ix. 83.

Argos, or by the Cymaean Demodice, wife of the Phrygian Midas, who was daughter of Agamemnon, King of Cyme, or by the Athenians, Erichthonius and Lycus, or by the Lydians, as Xenophanes asserts, or by the Naxians, according to the view of Aglosthenes.' Some of these views are now out of court, especially those which give the origination of coins to Pheidon of Argos or to Athens. It is universally allowed that money first appears on the western coast of Asia Minor. But it may still be doubted whether it originated with the wealthy Mermnad kings of Lydia or with Miletus and other Ionian cities of the coast.

In favour of the Lydians it may be urged that Herodotus seems to support their claim. He writes of the Lydians,[1] *πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο· πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο.* There seems to be some connexion between the clauses of the sentence: that is, the fact that the Lydians were pedlars or hucksters was the reason for their invention of coin. And here it may be allowed that we can cite a parallel: the great extension of the Aeginetan currency is explained by the fact that the Aeginetans were the pedlars of Greece Proper. At the same time the words of Herodotus are too ambiguous to be pressed. To say that the Lydians first struck coins in gold and silver is not the same thing as to say that they first issued money of mixed gold and silver or electrum. There is thus some justification for those who have regarded Herodotus as referring to the coins of gold and coins of silver, issued, as we shall presently see, by Croesus.

Another ancient authority for the Lydian origin of coins has been found in the phrase of Julius Pollux,[2] who speaks of *Γυγάδας χρυσός* in the same breath with darics and staters of Croesus; and this passage has been taken as a proof that the early electrum staters were issued by Gyges. To this argument, however, there lies an insuperable objection in the fact that in another passage [3] Pollux speaks of the gold of Gyges as notable for purity; it could not, then, have been electrum. Gyges, as we are told by Herodotus,[4] dedicated at Delphi many objects in gold. It was from this that his gold had its reputation; and Pollux, in bringing it into line with darics and staters of Croesus, no doubt mistakes his authorities. Certainly no coins of pure gold of the time of Gyges are known.

The mere fact that Lydia possessed in great abundance the raw material of the electrum coinage can scarcely weigh very heavily, since that material was also easily accessible to the Ionians. The only definite proof of an early issue of coins in Lydia is furnished

[1] i. 94. [2] *Onomasticon*, iii. 87. [3] *Ibid.*, vii. 98. [4] i. 14.

by the legend FAAFEI in archaic letters read (first by M. Six) on some electrum coins, as the name of King Alyattes of Lydia. To these coins I will presently return. Meantime it is clear that, even if we accept M. Six's reading, all that it would prove would be that Lydian coins were issued in the reign of Alyattes B.C. 610–561, not that coins originated with the Lydians. Quite as early as these coins is the remarkable stater of electrum[1] which bears the name of Phanes, and which was almost certainly struck in one of the cities of Ionia.

Most numismatists, Lenormant, Six, Head, and others are disposed to assign the earliest electrum coins to early Lydian kings, Gyges and his successors. But the most recent writer on the subject, M. Babelon, is disposed, alike from the probabilities of the case, and the evidence of extant coins, to think that coinage originated with the Greeks of Asia. I am ready to support this view. It would be strange if the Lydian horsemen anticipated the quick-witted and versatile Ionians in so remarkable a discovery as that of striking coins. Moreover, in addition to the intrinsic probability of this view, the balance of evidence to be drawn from existing coins is in its favour.

It may well seem strange that the Greek world contrived to do without coins until the eighth century B.C. We now know what a highly developed civilization flourished in Crete and in Peloponnesus at a much earlier time. But there are abundant examples of an elaborate civilization without money. The great empires of Egypt and Assyria had no coins. The Phoenicians did not issue money for centuries after its invention, though they may have used the coins of Persia and of Greece. It is conjectured from a survey of the places where Persian gold coins are found, that they were but little used in the eastern provinces of the Persian Empire, but almost exclusively in Asia Minor. And we have a modern parallel for indifference to the use of coin. In China, down to our own days, only copper and iron coins have been issued by authority, gold and silver still passing by weight, whether in the form of bars or of foreign coin.

The early electrum coins of the Ionic coast are bean-shaped, bearing usually on one side a type, on the other punch-marks enclosing smaller devices. The unit is divided into halves, thirds, sixths, and so on, down to ninety-sixths. The metal is hard; the art and fabric primitive. They present us with a series of problems, which cannot at present be said to be solved.

In the first place, were they issued by cities or by temples, or

[1] *Br. Mus. Cat.: Ionia*, Pl. III. 8.

by private persons? It was perfectly natural that numismatists, accustomed to the fact that in later historic times every Greek city had one or two easily recognized devices which stamped its coin as belonging to it only, should have begun by trying to assign the early electrum also to city mints, by help of the types which the coins bear. The lion was held to be the mark of Miletus, the lion's scalp of Samos, the stag of Ephesus, and so forth. But there are grave reasons for thinking that this procedure was mistaken, or at least was carried much too far. The lion, the lion's head or his scalp, appear on a large number of the electrum coins, which differ so widely in style and in monetary standard that they can scarcely come from any one mint. To suppose that the lion is always the regal sign of the Lydian kings is a view which cannot be maintained. Again, there are on electrum coins many devices, the cock, the chimaera, the fox, the human head, and others, which cannot be satisfactorily assigned to any known mint. It therefore seems probable that, to begin with, the custom of issuing money by state authority, and impressing upon all coins so issued the civic badge as a type, was not observed with any regularity.

A confirmation of this view may be found in the fact that even in the case of the later issues of electrum coins, such as those of Cyzicus and Mytilene, there is no uniform type, as on the coins of most Greek cities, but an almost unlimited number of devices, which do not indicate place of mintage, but far more probably belong to the monetary magistrates.

Thus the types of early electrum coins are no safe indication of their place of mintage. And since, with one or two exceptions, they are uninscribed, there is a dearth of clues to direct us to their place of origin.

It is maintained by M. Babelon that these primitive coins were not state-issues at all, but struck by the bankers of Ionia and Lydia for the purposes of trade, and stamped with their private signets.[1] He has several historic parallels to cite. He shows that among the Franks of the Merovingian age money was issued by private coiners, and varies remarkably in alloy, and even in weight. And he brings forward examples in which trading companies in America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries issued great quantities of coin in their own name, and on their own responsibility.

It must also be noted that large classes of coins in Persian times, especially the Persian silver shekels or sigli, and the money of Aspendus in Pamphylia, bear a multitude of small stamps or countermarks

[1] *Origines de la Monnaie*, pp. 93–134.

which seem to be the marks of bankers, or possibly of local financial officers, guaranteeing the quality of the coin. This custom might well be the successor of a system of private coinage. Terrien de la Couperie observes [1] that on early coins of China we find many private marks. 'The exchange being generally limited to the region of the issuers, they used on their currency to put as their marks names of regions, places, families, individuals, or things.' In early India also small ingots circulated bearing many countermarks, which may have been stamped on them either by financial authorities or else by private capitalists.[2]

I cannot examine in detail the theories of M. Babelon as to the way in which the Ionian bankers stamped the coin; and in that matter I do not think his particular views can be maintained. But as regards the probability that many of the types of early coins are only private marks, I agree with him. Certainty is not to be attained. It is, however, at the least quite possible that private issues made their appearance before the rise of the regular civic coinages. Long ago Professor Ernst Curtius called attention to the probability that in some cases, at all events, very early issues of coins may have taken place in connexion with the wealthy temples of Ionia, where specie tended to accumulate. And this view has been generally accepted, even by Professor Ridgeway,[3] who is generally disposed to deny the religious origin of coin-types.

But however much truth there may be in the view that the earliest coins belong to bankers or temples, we have good reason for thinking that not later than about B. C. 650 the Greek cities of Asia were beginning to take the issue of electrum into their own hands, and to stamp it with an official seal.

It was first clearly set forth by Mr. Head [4] that certain classes of electrum coins may be distinguished belonging to different districts of Ionia, and following different monetary standards. M. Babelon has further developed this view [5]:—

(1) There is a very primitive class of coins following the Milesian standard of weight (stater, grammes 14·40, grains 222). Some of these have scarcely any type; and the fabric of the earliest of them is rude. (See Pl. I. 2; weight 215·3 grains, British Museum.) Their pale colour indicates, what is confirmed by analysis, that they contain

[1] *Br. Mus. Cat.: Chinese Coins*, Introd., p. 4.
[2] Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 52 and foll.
[3] *Origin of Currency and Weight-standards*, p. 215.
[4] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1875.
[5] *Revue Numismatique*, 1894–5, four papers.

but a small proportion of gold. They belong to cities in the neighbourhood of Miletus and Ephesus in the south of Ionia. The only mint which can be identified with high probability is that of Miletus, to which city we can attribute the coins which bear the type of a lion recumbent and looking back. The above-mentioned coin of Phanes belongs to this class, but its mint city is not certain: it was found at Halicarnassus. To this class also belong the numerous electrum coins found by Mr. Hogarth on the site of the Artemisium at Ephesus.

(2) There is a class of coins, also of pale electrum, which follows the Euboic standard (stater, grammes 16·84, grains 260). The types are very rude, and often unintelligible; but the lion's scalp, the eagle, and the ram can be made out on some specimens. Mr. Head mentioned some coins of this class; but they are best represented by a hoard of electrum, found at Samos[1] in 1894. M. Babelon would attribute the whole of them to Samos; but of course this assignment is very uncertain.

(3) There is a somewhat later class of coins, which follow the standard of Phocaea (stater, grammes 16·60, grains 256). These are of darker colour, and contain a larger proportion of gold. Indeed, Mr. Head has suggested that they were intended to pass as gold, not as electrum. They can be assigned to mints with far greater certainty than the previous coins; some, indeed, are of certain attribution, such as:—

PHOCAEA. *Obv.* ʘ Seal (phoca). *Rev.* Two square punch-marks. Munich. Weight, 16·50 gr. (Pl. I. 3).

CYZICUS. *Obv.* Tunny, bound with fillet. *Rev.* Two punch-marks; in one a scorpion. Brit. Museum. Weight, 16·32 gr. (Pl. I. 4).

LAMPSACUS.[2] *Obv.* Forepart of winged horse. *Rev.* Incuse divided into four; two divisions deeper struck. Paris. Weight, 14·99 gr.

There is also a stater, with the type of a griffin's head[3] and the inscription I϶OM (*Ζιος* ?), which has been given with great probability to Teos. Other attributions, of a less convincing kind, to Methymna and Mytilene in Lesbos, Smyrna, Cyme, and other cities are proposed by M. Babelon. All of these coins belong, so far as we can judge, to the cities north of Smyrna; and they may be mostly assigned to the period mentioned by Eusebius in his list of thalassocracies as the time of the greatest sea-power of Phocaea, B.C. 578–34. One

[1] *Revue Numismatique*, 1894, p. 149, Pl. III.

[2] Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. VIII. 1.

[3] Babelon, in *Revue Numism.*, 1895, p. 18; cf. Head, *Cat.: Ionia*, p. xxi.

of the earliest coins of the class of uncertain mint is figured, Pl. I. 1.

That the Lydian kings at their capital of Sardes issued electrum coin is in the highest degree probable, for the Lydians as a people seem to have possessed the commercial instinct.[1] Yet it is not possible with certainty to assign to any of the Mermnad kings any electrum coin. The classification of electrum money to each of them by François Lenormant is little more than a work of imagination.

M. Six has indeed read on some electrum coins, bearing as type a lion's head,[2] the name of King Alyattes of Lydia. The letters, so far as they can be made out, seem to be FAΛFEI. Whether these letters can stand for the name of the king is a problem for philologists. At the same time, the fabric of the coins and the nature of their incuse connects them closely with the coins of Croesus, shortly to be mentioned. And, as M. Six observes, the use of the digamma seems to exclude the notion of an Ionian mint. We may therefore regard the attribution to Alyattes as not improbable. The issue, however, was not important, like those of Croesus.

Thus there are few fixed points in regard to the early electrum coinage. We can identify but a few mints; nor do we even know by what authority the coins were issued. Another thing which has caused the utmost perplexity to numismatists is the very remarkable fact that the proportion between gold and silver in the composition of the coins varies greatly, and with it their intrinsic value. It is possible by weighing, first in air and then in water, to determine the specific gravity of electrum coins; and from the specific gravity it is possible to deduce, within certain limits, their composition, the proportion of gold and silver which they contain. In 1887 I applied this method to a number of electrum coins of Cyzicus; and in the same year Mr. Head made a series of similar investigations as regards other electrum coins [3]. The results are extraordinary, and very disconcerting. Instead of the proportions of gold and silver being fixed, they vary in an extreme degree. In the case of a set of electrum coins of Cyzicus of various ages, I found the percentage of gold to vary from 58 to 33 per cent. Mr. Head, ranging over a wider field, found that the percentage of gold in early electrum coins varied from

[1] Babelon, *Rev. Num.*, 1895, p. 20. The whole of M. Babelon's two articles on early electrum coins in this volume is important.

[2] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1890, p. 204; *Brit. Mus. Cat.: Lydia*, p. xviii; Babelon, *Traité*, p. 227. In his most recent publication, in the volume published by the British Museum on excavations at Ephesus (p. 91), Mr. Head allows the probability of M. Six's reading.

[3] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1887.

72 to 10, and even 5 per cent. That is to say, coins of almost identical weight might vary in value, so that one should be intrinsically sixfold the value of another. Now the Greeks, even at an early period, were perfectly well aware of the methods for mixing gold and silver; and they used touchstones, found in the very district of Lydia where coinage originated, which enabled them to determine with considerable accuracy the degree of alloy in coins professedly of gold. How then is it possible that they can have accepted debased coins of electrum as of equal value with coins of good quality?

The view of Brandis and Mommsen was that electrum was regarded as a metal apart, and conventionally accepted as of ten times the value of silver, or three-fourths of the value of gold, which latter metal, as we know both from the testimony of Herodotus and from induction, stood to silver in Asia in the relation of 40 to 3, or 13⅓ to 1. And, strange as it may seem, this view is after all probably the true one. For, remarkable as it may be that Greek merchants should be willing to accept coins not guaranteed by any king or city at a fixed and conventional rate, it is still more improbable that they should have to value every piece of money offered them by means of the touchstone, and make the simplest bargain into a very elaborate arithmetical problem. In the latter case, one cannot see what advantage the electrum coinage would possess over bars or rings of gold or silver, which as a matter of fact it superseded in commerce.

II. *Croesus to Darius.*

There is no proof that the Mermnad kings of Lydia, whose power was rapidly increasing in the seventh and sixth centuries, showed any desire to interfere with the Ionian issues of electrum. If, as is probable, they issued electrum coin of their own at Sardes, they seem to have allowed it to take its chance with the rest, and did not stamp it distinctively as a royal issue. But when Croesus came to the throne he seems to have determined to take another line. It may be that the inherent faults in the electrum coinage of Ionia were unfitting it for its purpose. It may be that with great sagacity he grasped the notion that by concentrating the issue of coin in his own hands he could strengthen his political power. It may be that he merely wished, with commercial instinct, to make the most of his great stores of gold. Whatever the motive, he certainly initiated one of the greatest of all political movements which the world has known—the issue of a state coinage.

It is true that the proofs that this action was due to Croesus are

not absolutely conclusive. Holm is even disposed to call them in question. They are circumstantial rather than direct. But in my opinion they are ample. This is the only view which brings consistency and order into the arrangement of facts. And since Julius Pollux[1] talks of the staters of Croesus in the same line with the noted gold staters of Philip and the darics, he bears testimony to the existence of well-known gold coins named after Croesus. These can only be the coins long attributed by numismatists to the king; which are the following:—

Obv. Foreparts of lion and bull facing each other.
Rev. Two incuses side by side (Pl. I. 5).

These coins were issued in gold of the weight of a stater of 10·89 grammes (168 grains), with its fractions of a half, a third, a sixth, and a twelfth; a stater of 8·17 grammes (126 grains), with corresponding divisions, and a silver unit of 10·89 grammes (168 grains), again with corresponding fractions.

The gold and silver of these coins is singularly pure, giving them such a natural advantage over the electrum that they could scarcely fail to supersede it in circulation.[2] We may suppose that the stater of 126 grains was intended mainly to take the place of the darker or Phocaean electrum, and that the gold and silver of the 168 grains' standard (Babylonic silver standard) was intended to take the place of the lighter or Milesian electrum. It certainly seems from the style and fabric of the extant coins of electrum that few, if any of them, saving only certain exceptions to be presently mentioned, belong to a later date than the middle of the sixth century.

When the kingdom of Croesus fell, about B. C. 546,[3] the royal coinage at Sardes of course ceased. Before long, its place was taken by the royal darics and sigli, or staters of gold and drachms of silver, issued by the Persian kings (Pl. I. 6, 7). The daric stater was a few grains heavier than that of Croesus, following the Babylonic standard. It was current until the fall of the Persian empire, and governed the trade of Asia Minor for ages. The date of the

[1] ix. 84.

[2] It may be suggested that it was out of the superseded electrum coinage that Croesus made the bricks of white gold which he dedicated at Delphi just as Pheidon, according to tradition, dedicated in the Heraeum the obeli which were superseded.

[3] All the dates in early Greek and Oriental history are only approximate. Winckler prefers for the date of Croesus's fall, B. C. 548. As the exact year in which events took place is a matter of small importance to the purpose of the present paper, I have not judged it necessary to enter into chronological discussions, but usually accept the ordinary view.

first introduction of the daric is a matter of some uncertainty. The word daric is a Greek adjective, formed from Darius, and it is expressly associated by Julius Pollux with the name of that king.[1]

But that fact does not necessarily prove that darics were not issued before the accession of Darius in B.C. 521. For it is quite maintainable that the Greeks named the coin after the Persian king best known to them, even if they were issued before his reign.[2]

It is certainly in itself improbable that Asia Minor had to wait until the reign of Darius for a satisfactory gold currency. The coinage of Persia is confessedly modelled on that of Lydia; and it is difficult to believe that the 25 or 30 years which elapsed between the suppression of Croesus and the reforms of Darius passed without the issue by Cyrus and Cambyses of coins to take the place of the Lydian money. Indeed, so improbable does this seem, that some writers, such as François Lenormant and Mr. Head, have supposed that the Persian governors of Sardes continued to issue money of the types and the standard of Croesus.[3] This is of course not impossible, and parallels may be found; but it is improbable, and the view is rightly rejected by M. Babelon.[4] It is true that Herodotus writes of Darius,[5] *χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον, νόμισμα ἐκόψατο.* But this phrase merely asserts the purity of the coin issued by Darius, and does not at all imply that he was the first to issue a Persian gold coinage. Thus it seems most probable that the Persian darics were issued immediately after the conquest of Lydia, and were the institution of Cyrus rather than Darius.

It has been supposed that half-darics also were struck, because Xenophon records, in his account of the expedition of the younger Cyrus,[6] that the latter promised to raise the pay of his soldiers from a daric a month to a daric and a half, *τρία ἡμιδαρεικά.* Since, however, no half-darics are known to exist, it is probable that the half-daric was a money of account. The mercenaries would be paid at the end of a campaign; for they could not well carry money with

[1] *Onom.* iii. 87 *οἱ Δαρεικοὶ ἀπὸ Δαρείου.*

[2] Attempts have been made to show that similar words to daric were used for money in Assyria in pre-Persian times. In any case, though the adjective *δαρεικός* is regularly formed in Greek from *Δαρεῖος*, it may be what is called a Volksetymologie, and really have nothing to do with that king. Cf. Harpocration (Hultsch, *Metrol. Script. reliquiae*, p. 310) *ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Δαρεικοὶ οὐχ, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι νομίζουσιν, ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρός, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιοτέρου βασιλως.*

[3] Lenormant, *Monn. royales de la Lydie*, p. 198; Head, *Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, p. 23.

[4] Babelon, *Traité*, p. 242. [5] Hdt. iv. 166. [6] *Anabasis*, i. 3, 21.

them, and in ancient times soldiers were not so much inclined to pay for supplies as they are now. Double darics have in recent years been discovered in considerable numbers, especially in the far east. They certainly belong to the very latest time of Persian rule. M. Babelon thinks that they were issued shortly before the time of Alexander, and that he continued to strike them; but numismatists have generally been more disposed to think that they were struck only by Alexander and his generals.

The subsidiary coins to the daric, in addition to rare fractions in gold, were silver coins of the same type and form, the sigli or shekels, which, as we know from the testimony of Xenophon,[1] passed at the rate of twenty to the daric. It is strange indeed to find thus, at the begining of consecutive history, the primary coinage of Asia consisting of gold coins of nearly the weight of an English sovereign, divided into twenty sigli, each nearly of the metal weight of a shilling.

Several ancient historians bear witness to the enormous extent of the daric currency of the Persian Empire. In the reign of Xerxes, as Herodotus[2] informs us, a wealthy Lydian named Pythius had amassed four millions of darics, lacking seven thousand. The Persian archers, as the darics were called because they bore the type of the king holding the bow, were but too well known and too potent in the domestic affairs of Greece. The vast stores of them found by Alexander at Ecbatana and Susa[3] inundated the whole Greek world with gold, and doubtless formed the material out of which many of Alexander's own coins were struck.

A century ago the daric was a comparatively rare coin in our museums, the obvious reason being that those found were concealed by the finders, and at once melted down. A great abundance of them has appeared in recent years. To determine their find-spots is almost impossible; but they certainly range over a great part of western Asia.

Can they be classified as regards period? Lenormant tried to find on them the portraits of the successive reigning monarchs of Persia. Mr. Head, with his usual sanity and moderation, writes[4]: 'A close examination of the gold darics enables us to perceive that, in spite of their general similarity, there are differences of style. Some are archaic, and date from the time of Darius and Xerxes, while others are characterized by more careful work, and these belong to the later

[1] *Anabasis*, i. 7, 18, where the talent of silver (6,000 sigli) is equated with 300 darics.

[2] Hdt. vii. 28.

[3] At Susa Alexander captured 9,000 talents of darics, besides unminted gold and silver. Diodorus, xvii. 66.

[4] *Lydia and Persia*, p. 28.

monarchs of the Achaemenian dynasty.' More recently, M. Babelon [1] thinks that he has found a clue in a hoard of 300 darics found in the canal of Xerxes by Mount Athos, which he ventures to divide, on the ground of minute differences in the portrait and beard, between Darius and Xerxes. For my part I prefer to stop at the point marked by Mr. Head. An exceptional coin of the British Museum has as type the king not bearded but beardless (Pl. I. 7).[2] M. Babelon proposes to attribute it to the younger Cyrus; but there appears no sufficient reason for such assignment. In fact several of the Persian kings came to the throne young. And the extreme rarity of the coin in question is a strong reason against supposing that it was issued by Cyrus, who must have used gold coins in great quantities to pay his Greek mercenaries, who received a daric or more a month.

It is probable that the staters of Croesus and of Persia brought to an end the early electrum issues of Ionia. We can in the case of some cities such as Teos and Phocaea give good reason for the complete ceasing of this coinage at a definite date, since these cities were abandoned by their inhabitants through fear of Persian conquest. Probably at other cities at about the same time coinage ceased. The king of Persia was beginning to assert his monopoly of gold coinage, and it is probable that he regarded the issue of electrum as a violation of that monopoly.

III. *The Ionian Revolt.*

We have next to treat of a well-marked and homogeneous set of electrum coins, struck on the lighter or Milesian standard, and evidently contemporary one with the other, but decidedly later than the early Ionian electrum. These coins have often been discussed, but numismatists seem to have missed, almost by a hair's breadth, what seems to me their definite chronological attribution. Most of them have a pronounced civic character, though of some the mints cannot be ascertained:—

Samos.

Obv. Forepart of bull r., looking back.
Rev. Incuse square divided into four. British Museum, weight 14·04 (Pl. I. 10).

Abydos.

Obv. Eagle to l., looking back, standing on hare.
Rev. Similar. British Museum, weight 14·09. Sometimes a dolphin in place of the hare.

[1] *Traité*, p. 262.
[2] On the reverse of this coin is a small head incuse, bearded and horned.

Clazomenae.

Obv. Forepart of winged boar to r.
Rev. Similar. British Museum, weight 14·08.

Lampsacus.

Obv. Forepart of winged horse l.; above, leaf pattern.
Rev. Similar. British Museum, weight 13·98 (Pl. I. 9).

Chios.

Obv. Sphinx seated r.
Rev. Incuse square. British Museum, weight 14·04 (Pl. I. 8).

The following are of doubtful mint:—

Obv. Horse galloping l.; beneath, leaf.
Rev. Incuse square, divided into four. British Museum, weight 13·94 (Pl. I. 11).
Obv. Sow walking to l.
Rev. Similar. British Museum, weight 14·07 (Pl. I. 12).
Obv. Cock r.; above, palmette.
Rev. Similar. British Museum, weight 13·98 (Pl. I. 13).

The similarity of these coins one to another, alike in monetary standard and in style of execution, is so great that numismatists have long seen that they must be closely connected. They are even of the same colour, and analysis has shown that they possess the same proportion of gold, about 30 per cent., and several have the leaf or palmette ornament.

The coin of Chios alone differs somewhat in appearance from the rest. The type is rather more archaic in character; the incuse of the reverse is smaller and deeper. But since the weight and colour of the coin are just like those of the others and as it contains the same proportion of gold, it can scarcely be doubted that it belongs to the same group.

The coin marked with a cock has been given to Dardanus in the Troad, that with the horse to Cyme in Aeolis, that with the sow to Methymna in Lesbos; but none of these attributions can be considered more than possible. Even the attributions to Abydos and Clazomenae may be called in question. But the mints of Chios, Samos, and Lampsacus seem firmly established; and hence there arises a reasonable probability that the other coins also were issued by cities of Aeolis or Ionia.

In a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*[1] M. Six maintained that

[1] 1890, p. 215.

these coins were all issued from the mint of Chios. He would identify them with the Chian pentadrachms which according to Xenophon [1] Callicratidas gave in 406 to the sailors of his fleet. M. Babelon [2] rightly rejects this view; he sums up as follows, 'ou bien, ces pièces à types variés mais de fabrique identique, ont été frappées dans un seul et unique atelier; ou bien, ces pièces représentent le monnayage de villes associées en vertu d'une alliance monétaire.' In stating, however, their date as long after the beginning of the fifth century, M. Babelon brings them down far too late.

In my opinion the view of Mr. Head as to their date is the only admissible one. As early as 1887 [3] he accepted for coins of this class the date of the beginning of the fifth century. And in 1892 [4] he observed that they probably began to be struck before B. C. 500.

But a series of coins issued by a set of Asiatic cities in conjunction at about the date of 500 surely can be nothing else than the money struck by the revolted cities of Ionia when they rebelled against King Darius B. C. 500–494. The allied cities of Ionia would need much money to pay the sailors and soldiers of the fleet; and being in full revolt against the King of Persia they would not hesitate to invade his monopoly of issuing gold coin. The base composition of the coins shows them to be probably money of necessity issued at a time of strain, and their finished execution is just what we should expect from Ionian workmen of the late archaic period.

Herodotus [5] gives us the details of the composition of the Ionian fleet at the battle of Lade; it was as follows: Miletus 80 ships, Priene 12, Myus 3, Teos 17, Chios 100, Erythrae 8, Phocaea 3, Lesbos 70, Samos 60. It would not be a matter of surprise if the coins failed perfectly to fit in with the account of the historian. Yet in some respects they agree perfectly. Chios appears in Herodotus as furnishing the most numerous and determined of the contingents; and the weight and character of the coins are so clearly Chian, that M. Six, as we have seen, regarded them as all struck in the island. Samos and Lesbos are represented alike in the fleet and in the coins. Lampsacus, Abydos, and Dardanus joined the revolt, but were reduced by the Persian Daurises, son-in-law of Darius [6]; while Artaphernes and Otanes captured Cyme and Clazomenae [7] before the battle of Lade. Thus every one of the cities suggested by the coins is known to have been in revolt against the Persian yoke. That we have no revolt-money of Miletus is unfortunate. But the fact is that the electrum coinage of Miletus is as yet imperfectly known to us. It is probable

[1] *Hellen.* i. 6, 12. [2] *Traité*, ii. 1, 198. [3] *Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 281.
[4] *Cat. Ionia*; Introd. p. xxv. [5] vi. 8. [6] Hdt. v. 117. [7] Hdt. v. 123.

that much of the early electrum really belongs to Miletus; but we cannot with certainty distinguish it, and so do not know what type to look for as Milesian among the coins of the revolt. It is, however, by no means impossible that the coin with the type of a cock may be Milesian. Dardanus, to which it is sometimes given, was a place of little importance. In the find of archaic electrum coins discovered by Mr. Hogarth at the Artemisium of Ephesus many had the type of a cock[1] or cocks. These Mr. Head attributes to Lydia; but the attribution to Miletus is at least as probable. In Persia the cock, the herald of day, was held sacred to the sun-god; at Miletus he may well have been consecrated to Apollo whose great temple of the Branchidae was well known throughout Asia.

It is observable that the coins of the Ionian revolt are staters, and that the fractions were not struck. This is very natural, if the money was issued for the pay of the sailors and soldiers of the fleet, who would receive it in substantial sums. And at this time silver coin had become abundant, and the usual tender for small amounts. The little electrum pieces of the seventh century had been superseded by silver, just as, about B. C. 400, small silver coins were superseded at most places by bronze. Minute electrum and silver coins can never have been convenient in use.

IV. *Electrum Coins* B.C. 480–330.

After the suppression of the Ionian revolt it is probable that all issues of electrum coins in Asia Minor would be for a time completely suspended. But we know of certain issues of such coins by some of the cities of Ionia and Mysia in the fifth century; and our next task is to try to assign their dates and their character.

The cities to which these issues belonged were Cyzicus and Lampsacus on the south shore of the Propontis, Phocaea in Ionia, and Mytilene in Lesbos, to which cities must be added the important island of Chios.

On Pl. II. I give a few examples of these electrum coins from the British Museum collection.—

1–4. Cyzicus: staters. Types: (1) Winged female figure, running, holding tunny; (2) Female figure seated on a dolphin, holding wreath and shield; (3) Apollo kneeling, holding bow and arrow; (4) Portrait of a man, bald-headed and bearded, wearing wreath; beneath, tunny.

5. Mytilene: stater. Type, Head of Apollo r., laureate.

[1] See Hogarth *Archaic Artemisia*, p. 81 (British Museum publication).

6–7. Hectae of Phocaea. Type, female head; beneath, a seal.

8. Hectae of Mytilene. Types, Head of Persephone and lyre.

In determining the periods of issue of these coins, three kinds of consideration have to be taken into account: (1) historic probability, (2) the evidence of ancient historians and inscriptions, and (3) the evidence of the coins themselves.

(1) The indications of historic probability are clear. If the King of Persia jealously guarded his monopoly of the issue of gold coin, and if he, in accordance with the general view of antiquity, regarded electrum as a species of gold, then it is improbable that he would permit any of the cities of Asia under his immediate lordship to begin an issue of electrum coins. Such issues must almost necessarily have begun at a time when the Persian power on the coast was destroyed, or at least greatly weakened. Now it is well known that Persian lordship did thus suffer a check in the days following the repulse of Xerxes from Greece. The Greek victory of Mycale in 479 did much to drive back the Persian power. Herodotus (ix. 106) tells us that immediately the people of Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and other islands joined the Greek league, and after Cimon had in 466 won the great battle on the Eurymedon, Persia was still further repulsed. Whether this battle was followed by a peace humiliating to Persia is a matter much discussed by historians. But in any case it is certain that the result of it was to secure autonomy to the Hellenic cities of Asia. And we learn on excellent authority that there was a definite agreement that Persian war-fleets should not appear in the Aegean. From this time, for a while, the Greek cities suffered little interference from Persia. At first they were subject to Athens; but after the disaster in Sicily the power of Sparta also largely prevailed on the Asiatic coast.

That Cyzicus and the other cities began their issues of electrum after Mycale and under Athenian protection seems almost certain. The Cyzicene staters, as we know, were largely used by the Athenians, especially for their trade in the Black Sea. But the date of their cessation is less easy to determine; the evidence of the coins themselves must decide. We can, however, easily suppose that the Persian king might be willing to allow the continuance of what had by the end of the fifth century become quite an institution.

(2) Let us next make a brief survey of the inscriptional and literary evidence.

Various writers have given a list of the mentions in inscriptions of Cyzicene electrum staters.[1] The earliest appears to be in the

Lygdamis inscription found by Sir C. Newton at Halicarnassus, and dated to about B. C. 445. It should be, however, observed that the mention is only of *staters*, not of Cyzicus as the mint. But Cyzicene staters are definitely mentioned in an Attic inscription of B. C. 434, in the Public Works accounts [1]; twenty-seven staters and a hecte being entered in the table.

In the treasure-lists of Athens of B. C. 429 we have mention of gold staters of Cyzicus.[2] That they are spoken of as of *gold* is an important point, since it seems to show that the mercantile world was accustomed to regard them as gold coins rather than as money of mixed metal.

In subsequent Attic treasure-lists of B. C. 418, 416, 415, 412, and 406 [3] mention is made of Cyzicene staters: and Lysias in his orations against Eratosthenes (B. C. 403) and Diogeiton at the end of the fifth century speak of them in a way which shows that at that time they constituted, with the darics, the main gold coinage of Greece. Cyrus the younger promised his mercenaries a Cyzicene stater a month as pay.

At a considerably later time, just in the middle of the fourth century, we learn from the oration of Demosthenes against Phormio [4] that then Cyzicene staters were current coin on the shores of the Black Sea. This does not, however, positively prove that they were then issued, for they might naturally continue in use in remote districts even when the mint was closed.

Lampsacene staters (70 in number) are mentioned in the Attic inscription of 434 already cited, and in other inscriptions of the same period. These may be with certainty identified as electrum staters of Lampsacus, not the gold coins issued from that mint, as we shall see, at a somewhat later time.

The staters and hectae of Phocaea are mentioned in several Attic inscriptions dating from B. C. 429–384.[5] Staters of Phocaea are also mentioned by Thucydides (iv. 52 δισχιλίους στατῆρας Φωκαΐτας, of the year B. C. 424) and by Demosthenes,[6] who speaks of a sum of 300 Phocaic staters as procured at Mytilene. The text of a remarkable convention between Phocaea and Mytilene for the common issue of electrum, dating from about the end of the fifth century, was published by Sir C. Newton.[7] The two cities were in alternate years to undertake the minting of the coins: and if the

[1] *C. I. A.* (=*I. G.*), i. No. 301. It is true that only the first letter and the last two of Κυζικηνοί are preserved in this inscription; but the restoration is certain.

[2] *C. I. A.*, i. No. 196. [3] *C. I. A.*, i. 180 and foll. [4] p. 914.

[5] *C. I. A.*, i. 196, 649, 660. [6] Πρὸς Βοιωτόν, 1019.

[7] *Roy. Soc. Lit.*, viii. 549. Michel, *Recueil*, No. 8.

mint-master debases the coin beyond a certain point, the penalty of death is assigned. It is remarkable that so important a detail should be decided, not by the city, but by an official.

(3) Turning from the literary and inscriptional evidence to that of the coins themselves, we have much material to deal with. And first of Cyzicus.

Every one accustomed to study the coins of the ancient world is astonished at the abundance, the variety, and the artistic beauty of the Cyzicene staters.[1] 172 different types are mentioned by Mr. Greenwell; and more are now known. The inscriptional and literary evidence makes it clear that the staters of Cyzicus, together with the darics, constituted the main gold coinage of the Greek world from the time of Thucydides to that of Demosthenes. Yet Cyzicus does not seem to have been a great or wealthy city. It had great natural advantages, being built on a peninsula, united with the mainland of Mysia only by a narrow neck of land,[2] and having two good harbours. But we are told by Thucydides (viii. 107) that as late as B.C. 411 the city was unfortified, and was occupied almost without resistance by the Athenian fleet. It seems to have been in the Roman age that it grew, and covered much ground. Why a city comparatively unimportant should have possessed so remarkable a privilege presents an interesting historic problem. In my opinion the secret must be the patronage of Athens, which was at the height of its power in the time of Cimon, and down to the disaster in Sicily. Some of the types of the staters of Cyzicus, the Tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Cecrops, Ge holding the young Erichthonius, Triptolemus in his winged car, are quite Attic. One, the young Herakles strangling serpents, commemorates the victory of Conon over the Spartans in B.C. 394, and cannot have been struck much later than that year.

As regards the dates of the Cyzicene coins, numismatic authorities are not altogether agreed. Mr. Greenwell, on the evidence of style, gives them to the period B.C. 500–360. Mr. Head in 1876 was disposed to think that their issue ceased early in the fourth century. French and German numismatists[3] had, on the other hand, brought the latest of them down to the time of Alexander the Great (331).

[1] The most complete account, by W. Greenwell, in *Num. Chron.*, 1887.

[2] Originally it seems to have been an island, but the passage between it and the mainland was silted up by the time of Alexander the Great, who cut a fresh canal across the isthmus. Plans of the site are given in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1902, Pl. XI; 1904, Pl. VI.

[3] F. Lenormant, in *Revue Numismatique*, 1864, 1867; Brandis, p. 177.

In the *Historia Numorum* Mr. Head accepts the date 500–350. And in the British Museum Catalogue of Mysia the latest date is fixed at 350; the cessation of the Cyzicenes being regarded as the result of the great issues of gold coin by Philip of Macedon.

One of the latest of the staters of Cyzicus is a coin published by Millingen,[1] bearing the inscription ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ, which has been regarded as a reference to Alexander's victory at the Granicus. It is, however, more than doubtful whether the people of Cyzicus, who had already enjoyed freedom, would look on the Macedonian conquest in this light. Mr. Head suggests that the reference is rather to the victory of Conon at Cnidus in B.C. 394, and he finds nothing in the style of the coin to conflict with the supposition.[2] But a far more suitable occasion for the boast of freedom is suggested by the assertion of Marquardt[3] that the people of Cyzicus expelled the Persian garrison in 365, twenty-two years after the peace of Antalcidas. Marquardt's ancient authorities[4] only say that Timotheus liberated Cyzicus when besieged: but the inference of Marquardt that until the city had expelled the Persians it could hardly have been besieged by them seems a reasonable one. It was after this time that Cyzicus possessed an important arsenal, and two hundred ship-sheds. As the Cyzicenes repulsed Memnon, the Rhodian general of Darius, they seem to have preserved their autonomy until the time of Alexander. As the Cyzicene staters were a common currency till beyond the middle of the fourth century, there does not appear to be any reason why we should suppose that their issue ceased before Alexander's time, or at all events the taking of Athens by Philip.

The electrum staters of Lampsacus, the obverses of which bear the type of half a winged horse, are far rarer than those of Cyzicus, and seem to belong to one period only. What that period was seems to be decided alike by the style of the coins, and by the fact that several of them were found with a number of Cyzicene staters which are neither archaic nor late in style.[5] We have seen that Lampsacene staters are mentioned in an Attic inscription of B. C. 434, and this date admirably suits the extant examples of the coinage.

The small hectae or sixths issued by Mytilene and Phocaea in conjunction, in accordance with the above-mentioned treaty, the text of which has come down to us, are extant in great abundance. There is but one stater of Mytilene known (Pl. II. 5), and as yet none of

[1] *Anc. Greek Coins*, Pl. V. 11. [2] Head, in *Num. Chron.*, 1876, p. 292.
[3] *Kyzikos und sein Gebiet*, p. 65.
[4] Diodorus, xv. 80; Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus*, 1.
[5] This find is published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1876, p. 277.

Phocaea. We have, however, seen that staters and hectae alike are frequently mentioned in Attic inscriptions.

Some of the hectae of Phocaea are distinctly archaic in style, for example, our Pl. II. 6. M. Babelon[1] does not hesitate to attribute them to a time before the Persian war. Mr. Head gives them to the end of the sixth century.[2] But the weakness of the city at that time is shown by the fact that it contributed only three ships to the Ionian fleet. The inhabitants had abandoned the city to sail to the west. It is unlikely that at such a time it would begin an issue of electrum coins. I should therefore regard them as issued just after B.C. 480. And Mr. Wroth gives the corresponding coins of Lesbos to B.C. 480–350.

The only existing electrum stater of Chios of a period later than the Persian wars is at Berlin.[3] Its fabric is like that of the Cyzicene staters, and the type, the Sphinx, is enclosed in a vine-wreath, just like that on the already mentioned staters of Lampsacus. There can be little doubt that it is contemporary with these latter, dating from the time of the Peloponnesian war.

Such are our data. What are the historic results to be drawn from them?

It seems abundantly clear that at some date not long after B.C. 480 three or four of the cities of the coast resumed their issues of electrum. The chief of these cities were Cyzicus, Mytilene, and Phocaea; Lampsacus and Chios joining them about the middle of the fifth century. It is impossible to tell with certainty when the issues of Cyzicus, Lesbos, and Phocaea began, since we have only the evidence of style to go by. But the incuse reverses of the earliest examples are distinctly later than those of the group of coins which I have given to B.C. 500–494 The incuses of Cyzicus and Phocaea are of mill-sail type; those of Lesbos are in the form of a second type. Thus the examination of the coins themselves confirms the view which is in itself far the most probable, that these issues of electrum were not sanctioned by Persia, but were begun at the time after the battles of Plataea and Mycale, when Greek fleets sailed the Aegean, and the power of Persia was being driven steadily westward by the arms of Athens. They are a sign of the Ionic independence of Persia which had been lost for half a century, except during the stormy years of the Ionian revolt.

It would be natural to expect that in the early years of the fourth century, when the mutual hostilities of Sparta and Athens had allowed

[1] *Revue Numismatique*, 1895, p. 12. [2] *Cat.: Ionia*, p. xxii.
[3] Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. VIII. 9.

the Persian power to reassert itself on the shores of the Aegean, and especially after the peace of Antalcidas had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Persian king over the Ionian cities, the electrum issues of Cyzicus and the other cities would come to an end. This appears, from the evidence of the coins and of the orations of Demosthenes, not to have been the case. For some reason or other the Great King allowed the invasion of his prerogative of issuing gold coin to go on. Why he did so we cannot with certainty say. We must, however, remember that though the power of Persia seemed to be increasing in the early part of the fourth century it was less centralized. The Satraps of Asia Minor were often in revolt, and maintained something like independence. And the long reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, B.C. 405-359, was not one in which the privileges of royalty were strongly asserted.

The electrum issues seem to have persisted until the appearance of the gold coins of Alexander the Great. Mr. Head has suggested as a reason for their ceasing the abundant issues of gold coins by Philip II of Macedon. This, however, appears to be a less likely occasion. Philip had little authority on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus; and one does not see why the cities of Asia should forgo their own commercial advantage in order to further the circulation of his money. It seems likely that the popularity of the gold Philippi would rather decrease the volume of the issue of electrum than bring it to an end.

V. *Gold Coins* B.C. 480–330.

The question why the Persian King ever allowed Greek cities to issue gold coin is, however, raised in an acuter form by our possession of a considerable number of staters, not of electrum but of gold, issued on the Asiatic coast in the earlier part of the fourth century. It is conceivable that the Great King might be willing to allow a few privileged mints to continue the minting of electrum. But how could he possibly tolerate the striking of actual gold money, not inferior, and generally superior, in weight to the imperial daric?

All these gold coins are rare, and seem to have had a narrow circulation; and for information in regard to them we cannot go to ancient writers or inscriptions: we are restricted to the evidence furnished by the coins themselves. The cities of Asia which issued them are Lampsacus, Abydos, and Clazomenae. In this connexion also we shall have to cite for purposes of comparison gold coins of Cius and Pergamon, with others minted in Rhodes, by the kings of Caria and Cyprus, and by some of the cities of Europe.

It seems almost certain that the coins of Lampsacus, Abydos, and Clazomenae must have been issued under similar circumstances. But if we turn to the British Museum Catalogue we shall find considerable variety in their dating, which stands as follows:—Lampsacus, 394–350; Abydos, 411–387; Clazomenae, 387–300.

This loose and inconsistent dating has arisen from the fact that numismatists have considered each city separately—on its own merits, so to say—and have not taken up the general question why the cities in question should have struck gold at all, and why if they struck gold they should have minted it on that particular standard. In fact they have made the mistake of detaching numismatics from the broad flow of history.

Certain historic facts have to be taken into account. In the first place, it is to be observed that although, as we have seen, electrum coins were issued from a few mints in the early part of the fifth century, yet there was, not only in Asia, but even in the whole world, no issue of gold coins save the darics until the very end of the fifth century. What was the occasion of the first issue of other gold coins? and which was the city which broke the ice, and invaded the long established privilege of the Great King?

Another fact to be observed is that, though we have a very great variety of silver coin issued by the Persian satraps in Asia Minor, in the later fifth and earlier fourth centuries, coins of Pharnabazus, Tiribazus, Datames, and others, yet none of these semi-independent satraps ventured to issue gold money, even when in revolt. To this point we shall return presently.

The earliest gold coins issued by any city of the Greek world (with the possible exception of a few very small gold coins struck in Italy and Sicily) were gold drachms of Athens, bearing on one side the head of Athena, on the other the owl, and weighing 4·34 grammes (67 grains), together with the half, third, and sixth of a drachm. Dr. U. Köhler has shown conclusively [1] that these pieces were issued by the Athenians at a time of economic pressure in B. C. 407. Hellanicus, as cited in the Scholia to the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (l. 717), states that in that year the Athenians melted down golden statues of Victory on the Acropolis and struck coins out of them; and this testimony is, as Köhler shows, fully confirmed by the testimony of Athenian inscriptions. Attic gold coins are first mentioned in the Athenian treasure-lists of the beginning of the fourth century.[2]

Now it is a remarkable fact that the gold of the Ionian cities,

[1] *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, 1898, p. 11.
[2] e. g. *C. I. A.*, i. 843.

of which I am speaking, all follows the Attic standard of weight, which is for the didrachm perceptibly (some five grains, ·3 gramme) heavier than that of the daric. But the Attic standard of weight was not the standard in use in those cities. They must have had some reason for adopting it for their gold coin. In the same way at Rhodes, in Chalcidice, and in other places in which a gold coinage appears early in the fifth century, it is invariably the Attic standard of weight which is adopted for gold, though the silver follows other standards.[1]

The ordinary opinion of numismatists in regard to these gold coins is that they were issued as rivals to the daric. As M. Babelon puts it, 'L'or des Grecs, sur le terrain commercial et économique, vient déclarer la guerre à l'or des Perses; la lampsacène est créée pour lutter contre la darique.'[2] And on this ground numismatists have tried to explain the fact that these gold pieces are heavier than the daric. They suppose that this extra weight was introduced purposely in order to force them into circulation. What the cities would gain by such a course no one has explained. When Germany introduced its new gold coinage it made the standard not heavier but somewhat lighter than that of the English sovereign.

Athens used the same standard for her gold coins which she had long used for silver. And the reason seems obvious. If the gold and silver coins had the same weight, then, whatever proportion in value gold had to silver, at that rate the gold and silver coins would exchange. That is to say, wherever the silver money of Athens was used as the regular medium of exchange, gold minted on the same standard would pass with ease and convenience.

But we know from the well-known lines of the *Wasps*,[3] as well as from the testimony of finds, that about the year B. C. 400 Athenian silver was the regular currency of the shores of the Aegean, as well as largely current as far as Sicily and Egypt: received, as Aristophanes says, everywhere alike by Greeks and barbarians.

It seems then that the readiest way of explaining the adoption of the Attic standard for gold by the cities of Asia is to suppose that it was not minted in rivalry of the darics, but with direct reference to the monetary issues of Athens. Athens set the fashion as regards both metal and standard, and several cities of Asia followed it.

We have not, it is true, in this earliest gold mintage of Athens the didrachm or stater, but only the drachm and its divisions,

[1] Only at Panticapaeum the standard is somewhat higher than the Attic (140 grains, 9·07 grammes), apparently for some local reason.

[2] *Perses Achéménides*, p. lxxiii.

[3] 720 and foll.

whereas the stater is struck in the Ionian cities. This must be allowed to tell somewhat against the view which I am supporting; but it is scarcely a serious argument against it. Certainly the earliest gold didrachms of Athens, minted about B. C. 339, are too late to be regarded as the prototype of the coins of Lampsacus and the other cities.

Cyzicus in the fourth century continues her electrum issues. But Lampsacus with the century begins to issue those very beautiful gold staters which have reached us in great variety. The type of their reverse is always the forepart of a winged horse; but on the obverse are various types. On Pl. II the following are figured —9, Young Herakles strangling serpents; 10, Head of Athena; 11, Persephone holding corn, rising from the ground; 12, Head of Persian satrap.

Some of these types seem to have no special meaning,[1] but to be mere imitations of well-known coins or works of art. But a few convey more exact information. On one coin (12) is the head of a Persian satrap. unfortunately he cannot be with any certainty identified. M. Babelon, following M. Six, takes him to be Orontes, and thinks that the coin belongs to the time, about B. C. 360, when Orontes was in revolt against the Great King. This identification, however, is very doubtful. Considering the imitative character of the coins, the appearance of the head of a Persian noble, very possibly copied from some silver satrapal coinage, cannot surprise us. A head of Pan on one coin is copied from the gold of Panticapaeum. An interesting copy is a head of Athena, imitated from the silver money of Athens (10). It bears indeed a superficial likeness to the gold staters of Athens of a later issue, which according to Kohler[2] were struck in B. C. 339. But a closer examination shows that it is of a decidedly earlier type than these, and is copied from the silver coins of a previous period. This fact seems to fix its date at about B. C. 400. A still closer date is given by the type of young Herakles strangling serpents (9), which is copied from the silver issued by certain allied cities of Asia after the victory of Conon at Cnidus in B. C. 394. This coin is one of the earliest of the set, and proves that this gold coinage cannot have begun much before B. C. 400. We have seen that Lampsacus issued staters of electrum for a short period towards the middle of the fifth century. Why she should have

[1] A list of thirty-one types in *Brit. Mus. Cat.: Mysia*, pp. xxi–xxv. In the *Journal internat. d'Arch. numism.*, v. p. 1, Miss Agnes Baldwin increases the number to thirty-seven. The second part of her paper, dealing with the coinage as a whole, appears not to have been published.

[2] *Zeitschrift fur Numismatik*, 1898, p. 13.

resumed coinage about B.C. 400 we cannot of course tell without a more exact knowledge than we possess of the history of the city. But we must not forget the celebrity of the wine of the district, nor the position of the city on the Propontis near the stations of the Athenian and Spartan fleets, which might produce a need for a coinage.

It is natural to think that the number of types on these staters (more than thirty-seven) indicates a considerable duration of the period during which they were struck. We should naturally suppose that the type would be changed once a year. And it is unlikely that we have recovered more than (at most) half of the varieties issued. In this case, if the coinage began about 400, it would have lasted down to the time of Alexander.

This hypothesis of an annual change of type is not, however, a certainty. Mr. Head has made it probable that the type of the later coins of Athens was changed every year. But of the Cyzicene staters more than 170 types are actually known, and their issue can scarcely have lasted more than 150 years: at Cyzicus then there must have been more frequent changes. In any case it seems impossible to confine the varied staters of Lampsacus to the period before the peace of Antalcidas: they must have gone on later.

The gold coins of Abydos are somewhat early in character: they seem to have been contemporary with the earliest of the Lampsacene staters. One is figured on Pl. II. 13 with the types of Victory slaying a ram, and a standing eagle (Brit. Museum).

It is a suggestive fact that Lampsacus and Abydos, as well as Cyzicus and Cius (of the coins of which last city I shall speak presently), are all on the Propontis in the direct line of the chief Athenian trade-route, that which led to the Black Sea. It would seem that the strength of Athens in this quarter together with the influx of gold from Colchis and Scythia produced abnormal conditions as regards the issue of gold coins.

It is necessary to consider the relations of these Greek cities to the Persian satraps in their neighbourhood. Almost in the midst of them was situated Dascyleium, the head quarters of the Persian satrapy of Mysia. Xenophon[1] describes the city as a luxurious residence. 'Here,' he says, 'was the palace of Pharnabazus with many villages round it, great and rich in resources: wild beasts for hunting abounded in the parks and the country round—a river flowed by full of fish of all sorts; and there were also abundant birds for such as had skill in fowling.' The description would be attractive to many an Englishman in India.

The view generally accepted by numismatists[2] is that the Persian

[1] *Hellen.* iv. 1, 15. [2] Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, Introd., p. xxiii.

satraps did not as such issue coins, but used the darics and sigli of the Empire. But on the occasion of military expeditions they sometimes issued silver coin at the Greek cities which they made their head quarters. Thus Tiribazus, satrap of Western Armenia, struck silver money in some of the cities of Cilicia, Issus, and Mallus, on the occasion of the war with Evagoras.[1] Datames also issued silver coins in Cilicia at the time of an expedition against Egypt about B. C. 378.[2] Tissaphernes issued silver coins which are supposed to have been struck at the mint of Aspendus[3]; and other examples may be cited.

Among the satraps who had head quarters at Dascyleium Pharnabazus, when in command of the Persian fleet, issued silver coins in Cilicia. He also seems on some unknown occasion to have issued silver coins at Cyzicus; the following is their description[4]:—

Obv. ΦΑΡΝΑΒΑ. Head of the Satrap r.

Rev. Prow of ship to left, adorned with griffin; in front and behind, dolphin; beneath, tunny. Weight, gr. 12·85 (198 grains).

Mr. Head is of opinion that a gold coin was also struck by Pharnabazus at Cyzicus; it is the following[5]:—

Obv. Persian King as an archer, kneeling.

Rev. Prow of ship to left. Weight, gr. 8·25 (127·5 grains).

M. Babelon, however, attributes the coin to Darius III of Persia, and to some mint in Caria. M. Six gives it to Salmacis, and the time of Alexander the Great.[6] It is, in fact, of uncertain origin; and the reasons for attributing it to Pharnabazus are not strong enough to induce us to make this coin the one solitary gold issue by any Persian satrap. The continued loyalty of Pharnabazus to his master would make it very unlikely that he alone would infringe the royal prerogative.

Orontes, who appears as a satrap of Armenia about B. C. 400, at the time of the retreat of the ten thousand, and forty years later as ruler of Mysia,[7] issued silver coins with the forepart of a winged horse on the reverse, which M. Babelon attributes to the mint of Lampsacus.[8] But Dr. Imhoof-Blumer regards them as struck rather at Iolla, or possibly Adramyttium; and their assignment must be left in considerable doubt.

[1] Ibid., p. xxix. [2] Ibid., p. xxxix. [3] Ibid., p. xxxii.

[4] Babelon, *Perses*, p. 23: Pl. IV. 5. It is the presence of the tunny on the coins which makes the attribution to Cyzicus probable.

[5] Ibid., p. 15: Pl. II. 22. [6] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1890, p. 245.

[7] Diodorus, xv. 90, 3. [8] *Perses Achéménides*, p. lxxiii.

It would seem then that so far as our evidence, which is certainly very fragmentary, goes, the satraps of Mysia had little to do with the issues of coins on the coast of the Propontis. No doubt they must have had frequent relations with these Greek cities. But if we adhere to the view that it was only on the occasion of military expeditions that the Persian satraps struck coins, we shall be slow in attributing to their influence coins so evidently commercial as the gold money of Lampsacus and Abydos.

The available evidence, then, seems to indicate that it was rather the influence of Athens than that of the Persian satraps of Mysia which gave rise to the gold coins of the shore of the Propontis in the early fourth century.

I may briefly summarize the historic situation as follows. It is very difficult to trace in detail the history of the Greek cities of the Propontis during the period B.C. 412–311, that is between the Athenian disaster in Sicily and the rise of the Greek kingdom of Syria. They passed with bewildering rapidity from Athenian to Lacedaemonian hegemony and back again. Sometimes they seem to have had Persian garrisons and to have been subject to the king, sometimes they were in the hands of revolted satraps, sometimes they appear to have enjoyed almost complete independence. The facts are only to be occasionally gathered from slight references in surviving history. We are able, however, to discern three periods in the history of Asia Minor at this time (1): 412–387. The constant hostilities between Sparta and Athens, of which the coast of Asia Minor was the cock-pit, caused constant commotion in the cities, until by the Peace of Antalcidas they were recognized by the Greeks as the property of the Great King (2): 387–334. Under the incompetent rule of Artaxerxes Mnemon, there were perpetual revolts of satraps in Asia Minor, and of these satraps some achieved an almost unqualified independence. We know that they depended largely upon the help of Greek mercenaries; but in regard to their relations to the Greek cities we have scarcely any information (3): 334–311. From the landing of Alexander to the establishment of the Seleucid dominion there was a time of great unrest, the military occupation of the country by the Macedonians not precluding the autonomy of the cities.

It is to the first of these periods, even apart from the testimony of artistic style, that we should naturally attribute the origin of the gold coins of Lampsacus and Abydos. The avoidance of all gold issues by revolted Persian satraps (unless indeed they struck darics on their own account), is a strong argument against supposing that

the Greek cities would after the peace of Antalcidas begin such issues. But the evidence seems to show that as Cyzicus continued her electrum issues down through the fourth century, so Lampsacus continued issues in gold. The reasons of this very exceptional privilege, which the Great King must at least have tolerated, can only be matter of conjecture.

Passing from the Propontis to the Ionian coast, we have to speak of the very exceptional issue of gold coins by Clazomenae.

The coin of Clazomenae (Pl. II. 14) is remarkable for its peculiar weight (grammes 5·70; grains 87·8). It is not a stater of the Attic standard, but exactly two-thirds of a stater. Clazomenae is almost alone among the cities of Asia at this period in using the Attic standard for silver. If the relation of value between gold and silver was at this time twelve to one, then this gold coin would be worth four of the tetradrachms of Attic standard, alike the tetradrachms of Clazomenae and those of Athens herself; this seems a natural relation. The gold of Clazomenae is very beautiful, bearing a full-face head of Apollo which may be compared with the head of the Sun-god on the coins of Rhodes, or that of Arethusa on the coins of Syracuse. The British Museum Catalogue gives for it the date B.C. 387–300, a wide date, which shows that Mr. Head did not feel sure of its exact time. But we must not overlook the remarkable fact that in the text of the king's peace, or the treaty of Antalcidas, as given by Xenophon, the Persian king expressly reserves to himself, besides the cities of the mainland, the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus. To couple thus together the little island on which Clazomenae was built, and the great land of Cyprus, seems very strange; and it is to be observed that mention is not made of Cyzicus and other cities built on islands close to the coast. But since Clazomenae came definitely under Persian rule in 387, it would seem far more probable that the city struck its gold just before, and not after, that date. In the style of the coin there is nothing conflicting with this supposition.

The weight of the coins of Clazomenae may be paralleled by that of gold coins of the island of Thasos, which were issued about B.C. 400 after the revolt of the island against Athens.[1] The weights of these coins are given by Mr. Head as 60 and 43 grains (grammes 3·88 and 2·78). The former pieces are clearly Attic drachms; the latter Attic tetrobols, and just half as heavy as the coins of Clazomenae. But this weight cannot be explained on the same

[1] *Hist. Num.*, p. 228.

principle as that of the coin of Clazomenae, since in Thasos the Rhodian standard was at the time in use for silver.

There are in existence gold coins bearing the types of Ephesus,[1] which, if genuine, would be contemporary with those of Lampsacus and Abydos. They are the stater, drachm, and diobol, having on the obverse the type of the bee, and the name of the city, and on the reverse a quartered incuse. If they be genuine they will belong to Mr. Head's third period, B. C. 415–394. But their genuineness has been called in question; and it is unsafe to base any argument upon them.

The gold staters of Cius in Bithynia (Pl. II. 15) are certainly of later date than those of Lampsacus and Abydos. Their style is considerably later than that of the coins of Chalcidice and of Philip of Macedon; it more nearly resembles that of the money of Pixodarus in Caria (B.C. 340–334). All the known examples come from the two Sidon hoards[2] which consist mainly of coins of the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the third, century. We are therefore driven to the supposition that the issue of these coins was allowed by Alexander for some reason which is lost to us, perhaps for services in connexion with his shipment to Asia, since Cius was the landing-place for Phrygia. A parallel may perhaps be found in the issue of gold staters at Philippi in Macedon, apparently by special licence of Philip II.

Another remarkable gold stater, probably from the Sidon finds, bears on the obverse a head of young Herakles, and on the reverse a Palladium.[3] This is no doubt a coin of Pergamon; a third of a stater with the same reverse, but with the head of Athena on the obverse, is also known.[4] M. Six is probably right[5] in assigning these coins to the period when Herakles, the young son of Alexander, and his mother Barsine, established themselves at Pergamon, after the death of Alexander. It is to be noted that the coin in the Sidon finds which has been most worn, and so had probably been longest in circulation, is a stater of Panticapaeum, issued about B.C. 400.

In order to justify us for thus fixing the dates of the coins of Lampsacus, and other Greek cities of the coast, and the circumstances under which they were issued, it will be well to run through the contemporaneous gold issues in Greece proper, and the Islands of the Aegean. According to the British Museum Catalogue we may date them as follows:—Rhodes, 400–333: Panticapaeum, before

[1] Head, *Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 22. In the *Hist Num.* they are omitted.

[2] *Revue Numism.*, 1865, 8.

[3] *Revue Numism.*, 1865: Pl. I. 8.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat.: Mysia*, p 110, No. 4.

[5] *Numism. Chron.*, 1890, p. 200.

Alexander: Cyrene, 431–321 (*Historia Numorum*): Olynthus 392–379, and later.

The coins of certain rulers and dynasts give us closer and more certain dates:—Evagoras I, of Salamis in Cyprus, 411–373 Nicocles, 371–361: Evagoras II, 361–351: Pnytagoras, 351–332: Nicocreon, 331–310: Melekiathon of Citium, 391–361: Pumiathon, 361–312: Pixodarus of Caria: 340–334: Philip II of Macedon, 359–336. These dates, being fixed, are valuable for comparison of style.

The kings of Cyprus seem to stand in a separate class. Evagoras I was a ruler of great power and audacity, who by force of arms asserted his independence of the Great King, and was never subdued, but at last made a compact with him 'as a king with a king'. That this high-spirited monarch should have broken through the tradition, and issued gold coins on his own account, need not surprise us. It is more remarkable that all his successors on the throne of Salamis should have continued the issues down to the time of Alexander the Great, and that the rival Phoenician kings of Citium should have followed their example. Brandis suggests [1] that this must have been the result of special favour of the Persian king. In any case Cyprus is quite exceptional in thus coining gold all through the fourth century.

It is to be observed that the powerful Mausolus of Caria, who was almost an independent sovereign, issued no gold coin, though he struck abundant silver: only his successor Pixodarus at a later time, when the Persian Empire was obviously breaking up, struck a few small gold coins.

The gold coins of Panticapaeum, Rhodes and Cyrene, belong to places too distant for the arm of the Persian king to reach. It is to be observed, however, that all these coins [2] are minted on the Attic standard, thus bearing testimony, if what we have said above be correct, to the prevalence of the Attic silver coins. All of them appear to be later than the appearance of Attic gold coins in B.C. 407. Mr. Head makes the gold of Cyrene begin in B.C. 431, but for this early commencement there is no evidence except that of style. And it seems to be impossible to place the gold coins of Cyrene on such grounds at an earlier date than those of Lampsacus and Abydos. Thus our glance at the gold coinages of the shores of the Aegean in the fourth century shows nothing inconsistent with the results we have reached in regard to the gold of the Greek cities of the Persian Empire; but tends rather to confirm them.

[1] *Munz-, Mass- und Gewichtswesen*, p. 256.

[2] Those of Panticapaeum are exceptionally heavy.

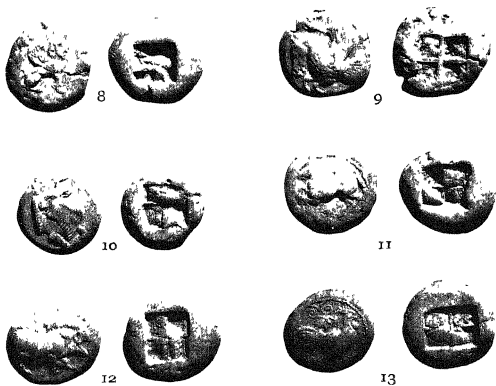
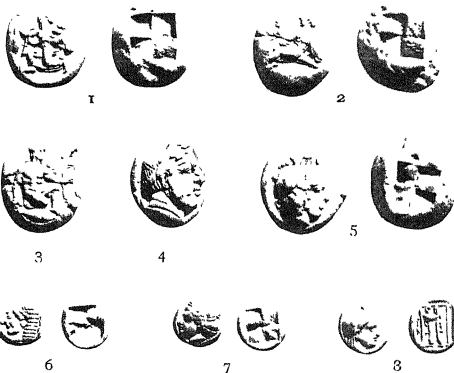
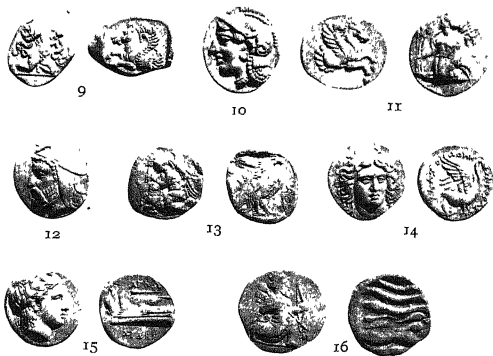
Numismatists are doubtless right in attributing to the time of Alexander and his successors the large series of double darics (Pl. II, 16). M. Babelon thinks that these were first issued before the fall of Persia and the issue continued by Alexander and his generals. In any case they belong to the time of transition. But the daric itself came to an end, being superseded by the abundant gold staters bearing the name and the types of Alexander, which were issued in many parts of his vast dominions in Europe and Asia. And with the daric the electrum coins of Cyzicus, Phocaea, and other cities also came to an end, as well as the gold coins of Lampsacus.

Thus ends the first chapter of the history of imperial coinage. The second chapter had scarcely begun, when the death of Alexander threw everything into confusion. When the dynasties of the Diadochi were established, especially the Seleucidae in Syria and the Ptolemies in Egypt, we are presented with a fresh series of problems which lie outside the scope of the present inquiry.

We may sum up our results in a few words. The earliest issues of electrum coins in Asia were of a tentative kind, very possibly the experiments of bankers or temples. Civic coinages at Phocaea, Cyzicus, and other cities begin to appear about B. C. 600, when Alyattes of Lydia also seems to have struck in electrum. The idea of originating a regular state coinage is due to Croesus, who substituted coins of gold and silver for those of the mixed metal. The kings of Persia took over the idea, and for a while monopolized the issue of gold coin. During the Ionian revolt there were temporary issues of electrum by Chios, Samos, and other places. Soon after the Persian wars, Cyzicus, Phocaea, and Mytilene began the issue of electrum coins; and were joined in the course of the fifth century by Lampsacus and Chios. About the end of the fifth century the cities of Lampsacus and Abydos, following the lead of Athens, began to strike in gold, and the example was followed by Clazomenae, and in some of the Islands, as Rhodes and Cyprus. A few cities, notably Cius, issued gold money in the time of Alexander. But the gold coins of Alexander himself brought to an end all issues of gold and electrum in Asia.

On the whole, the course of our inquiry has tended to confirm the current view that the Persian king regarded the striking of gold coins as his prerogative, although he seems to have allowed that prerogative to be invaded, on exceptional occasions, for reasons which it is difficult to assign with confidence.

EARLY ELECTRUM

GOLD OF LYDIA AND PERSIA

ELECTRUM OF THE IONIAN REVOLT

ELECTRUM, B.C. 480-330

GOLD OF ASIA, B.C. 480-330

THE ORIGIN OF TERMS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

By A. LANG

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read, May 27, 1908

MR. DARWIN did not accept the opinion, very prevalent amongst anthropologists, that Society began in a state of sexual promiscuity. He thought that the early males of our species were extremely jealous, and that each male would firmly keep his women to himself, in the manner attributed to the gorilla. The classificatory system of naming relations is still, perhaps, the strongest card in the hand of believers in a period of human promiscuity, and I wish to examine the question: do the names of relationships, among the black natives of Australia, for example, necessarily lend themselves to the support of the theory of primal promiscuity? I admit that, to the superficial observer, they look as if they did.

The naming system, as regards relations, is very much like that which Plato recommended for use in his theoretical republic, wherein, except for age-grades, a more or less limited promiscuity existed. All men of an age-grade were to call each other brethren, the men of the senior age-grade they called fathers, and the members in the age-grade below their own they called sons. Thus the imaginary republic had names of relationship suited to its promiscuous institutions, and when we find much the same terms in Australia, for example, it is natural to suppose that promiscuous institutions were their cause. But Plato started in possession of the ready-made terms of relationship of a monogamous society, and I hope to show that the ancestors of the Australians, before they developed the tribes of to-day, were as well equipped with terms of relationship as Plato. In my opinion, like Plato in his new State, they merely extended the pre-existing terms of kinship to serve for tribal purposes: to distinguish tribal degrees of status, and reciprocal duties and obligations.

One very obvious difficulty in the way of regarding the classificatory system as the result of promiscuity was recognized by Mr. Darwin. A child calls all the women of its mother's age-grade and its mother's status, in its own phratry, by the same name as it calls its

mother. No human being can believe in a plurality of mothers. But Dr. Rivers[1] has replied that, 'while the system of relationships was in process of development it is not probable that the special relationship between mother and child would have persisted beyond the process of weaning,' a period which he puts at three years. At three the child would not know much of terms of relationship. Perhaps not, but the child's mother would know. The male children are not separated from their mothers at three. The girls are not separated at all. Maternal instinct and affection among articulate-speaking men must always have kept alive the knowledge of the relationship between mother and children. Dr. Rivers adds that nursing may have been collective among the women of the group, so that, when weaned, the child might not have been able to discriminate between its nurses and know which of them was its mother. But the mother would be in no error; the whole set of children, probably a very small set, was not hopelessly 'changed at nurse'. The strength of the milk tie is forcibly evinced under fosterage, where the attachment of foster mother to *dalt* is nearly, or quite, as tenacious as that of mother and child. The possible ignorance of the child is not to the point. We have to reckon with the certain knowledge of the mother.

Even a superficial glance at the names of human relationships in an Australian tribe shows (1) that, while in each case they include the terms which a person applies to his own recognized father, mother, wife, son, daughter, brother, sister, and so on, they also denote numbers of persons who are merely in the same 'age-grades', or 'generations', and in the same phratry and 'sub-class' (where it exists) as the man's actual father, mother, wife, son, and the rest. The 'tribal' fathers, mothers, wives, sons, and so on, are, however, distinctly and separately discriminated in terms of speech from the *actual* fathers, mothers, sons, &c., at least in several tribes. The man or woman speaking calls these actual kinsfolk, indeed, by the term which he, or she, also applies to tribal relations of the same grades. But there is evidence to show that, when there is risk of confusion, as if a European asks questions, the native speaker clearly discriminates, by a qualifying word, the 'own' from the 'tribal', or 'in law' kinsfolk. In some tribes, at least, the speaker adds to the general term for, say 'father', a word which distinguishes 'own' from 'tribal' father, and so in other cases. Speaking of the Dieri system of *pirrauru* (legalized and limited subsidiary husbands and wives), Mr. Howitt (*J.A.I.*, 1890) has told us facts (if they still hold good) bearing on the qualifying additions to the terms of relationship. 'If a man were more

[1] Rivers, in *Anthropological Essays*, pp. 317, 318 (1907).

narrowly questioned he would qualify his statement by saying that the *Noa*' (specialized and duly betrothed husband of his mother, now styled by Mr. Howitt her *Tippa Malku* husband) 'is his *Apiri murla*, *Apiri matha*, or his "real father" or "very father"; and that the *pirrauru* of his mother are his *Apiri waka*, or "little fathers". His father's *pirrauru* would also be more clearly defined as his (the son's) *Andri Waka*, or "little mothers".'[1]

It is desirable to know whether *Apiri* (now spelt *Ngaperi*) *Waka* is not the correct term for *all* a man's tribal fathers, not for such of them alone as are the mother's *pirrauru*. If so (and it *is* so), the term results from the general *noa*, not from the limited *pirrauru* relation.

I conceive that a man's actual father was called his *Ngaperi*, before the evolution of tribal status and marriage law suggested that all men of the father's (*Ngaperi's*) status were his son's *Ngaperi Waka*. But the question may be argued conversely. 'All men of the father's status *might* be the son's *Ngaperi*. As "individual marriage" arose, these men were reduced to the rank of *Ngaperi Waka*.'

In 1890 (*J.A.I.*, vol. xx), Mr. Howitt printed statements to the effect that 'father's brother' was *Aperi Waka* (Gason and Flierl), while 'mother's *pirrauru*' was also *Aperi Waka*. (Same informants.) It is not, then, the *pirrauru* relationship, but the *noa* relationship that yields the title *Aperi Waka*; for both the *pirrauru* of the woman, and all the men *noa* to her are *Aperi Waka* to her children. Is there any reason for disbelieving Gason and Flierl? In fact this *Waka* word, as discriminating 'tribal' or 'in law' from 'own' relation, permeates the Dieri system, if we believe Gason and Flierl, and others. 'Husband's brother', says Gason, 'is *Noa Wäuka*'; Flierl gives '*Noa Waka*, or *Yimari*'—the term preferred by Mr. Howitt. 'Wife's sister' is '*Noa Wauka*' (Gason), '*Noa waka* or *Yimari*' (Flierl), *Yimari* (Meyer). 'Father's brother's wife' is (Gason) '*Andri Wauka*'. '*Andri Waka*' (Flierl), '*Andri Waka*.' 'Mother's sister' is (Gason) '*Andri Wauka*', (Vogelsang) '*Ngandri Waka*', (Flierl) '*Andri Waka*'.

These *wakas*—qualifying 'own' into tribal terms—do not now appear in Mr. Howitt's list of Dieri terms of relationship. (*N.T.S.E.A.*, p. 160. 1904.)

There can be no harm in trying to reason out the modes in which old savage terms of individual relationship have perhaps now become terms of *tribal* status; how they may have first arisen, and how they may have attained their present significance among savages, implying legal degrees of status in each case.

That the terms are not, in tribal society, mere 'terms of address',

[1] *J.A.I.*, vol. xx, p. 58.

as MacLennan argued, is certain; to each member of the tribe, bearing the *collective* or 'tribal' names of 'father', 'elder brother,' 'younger brother,' 'elder sister,' 'younger sister,' and so on, you owe certain duties, if it be but the duty of boycotting them, or of going into mourning for them.

But even in this matter there are, it seems, *individual* distinctions. Mr. Howitt tells us that among the Kurnai, 'a man provided food for his wife's father,' or 'parents', and 'the grandchildren are fed by the grandparents'. Interesting details as to the rules of partition of a man's game are presented' they are analogous to the rules recorded in the ancient Brehon laws of Ireland. (*N.T.S.E.A.*, pp. 756–60.) The husband's actual parents also receive their lot, but the wife's parents seem to have the lion's share, out of which they feed the grandchildren.

As far as I see, these laudable duties are confined to the actual, and not extended to the tribal, parents of the hunter's wife. If his wife's tribal parents had to be supplied the hunter might say, like the Scottish mother to her bairns,

> 'Ower mony o' you,
> No eneugh to gie you.'

It is certain that 'blood' or 'own' relations are perfectly recognized. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen inadvertently deny this, saying 'The savage Australian, it may indeed be said with truth, has no idea of relationships as we understand them'. (*Northern Tribes*, p. 95.) That this cannot be said with truth appears in their *Central Tribes*, p. 95, where the Warramunga distinguish elder and younger brothers tribal from brothers by blood, and also in their *Central Tribes*, p. 97, where *actual* fathers, brothers, and sons are not allowed to share the 'common property' in the women during an orgie of licence. Among the Arunta, 'a man secures a wife for his son,' for his *own* son, obviously, and a man inherits Alatunjaship from his own father; not from any casual tribal father. (Ibid., pp. 10, 11.)

Bv inquiry, moreover, you can ascertain whether any man whom another man calls his *Okilia* (elder brother) is his actual, or only his tribal, elder brother. (Ibid., p. 57.) In the same way the Dieri, we seem to gather, make, when necessary, a verbal distinction (*waka*), between their tribal and actual fathers, and other relations. It is needless to give more examples; the savage Australian does discriminate between his actual and his tribal relations.

It was necessary to make this fact clear and certain, as it has been denied.

We next ask ourselves how the classificatory terms of relationship arose, and how they acquired their present connotation of degrees of legal status. On any theory of the early social condition of articulate-speaking man, the terms of relationship cannot have connoted all the present duties and privileges which they now connote. These could only arise from the well-defined rules that were made after the evolution of a *tribe*, with its vast body of customary law; its marriage rules as regulated by phratries, sub-classes, totems, and age-grades; its food rules; its betrothal rules; and so on. This point is so obvious that it needs no argumentative demonstration.

I cannot pretend to feel certain as to how believers in a state of primal promiscuity explain the origin and the existing uses of savage terms of relationship. Why, *on their theory*, do I, a savage, call dozens of men 'my fathers', dozens of women 'my mothers', while, all the time, I discriminate my own father, and my own mother, from the crowds to whom I extend the terms of relationship which I apply to my actual parents?

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, by way of answering this question, say they are forced to the conclusion 'that the terms do actually indicate various degrees of relationship based primarily upon the existence of intermarrying groups'.[1] But what does this mean? What, here is 'a group'? What are 'intermarrying groups'? The Macnabs were a local 'group', the MacIans were a local 'group'. Suppose that these two clans intermarry. How would this fact lead each MacIan and Macnab to speak of dozens of men as his 'fathers', of dozens of women as his 'mothers'? One is quite puzzled; and our authors merely go on repeating that the names which a man applies to his wife and to all women whom he might lawfully have married, to his father, and all men who might have lawfully married his mother, to his mother, and all women whom his father might legally have married, are 'terms of relationship'.

Of what kind of relationship? Of kinship by blood? They assuredly are not *that* in many cases. Of reciprocal duties, privileges, and restrictions? These the terms do connote. Mr. Thomas understands Mr. Spencer and Mr. Howitt to mean (and perhaps they do mean), 'that all these terms may be interpreted on the hypothesis that the European relationships to which they most nearly correspond actually existed in former times, not between individuals, but between groups.'[2]

Thus a 'group' of men (group here seems to mean a number of men) are legally intermarriageable with a number of women. The

[1] *Central Tribes*, p. 56. [2] *Kinship in Australia*, p. 122.

Arunta call this condition *unawa*. A man styles his wife *unawa*, and he styles all women legally marriageable to him *unawa*. We seem to be expected to believe that the two sets of *unawa* persons, now lawfully intermarriageable, were, in a past age, legally married, 'all through other,' as the Scots say. The children would be all brothers and sisters to each other, and all sons and daughters to all men and women of the two *unawa* sets.

If this be the view of our leading authorities I can perceive no reason in favour of it, except that they can in no other way account, first, for the present extensive use of the terms of relationship; and next, for certain customs and usages which they regard as survivals of a previous pell-mell way of living (with these we are not here concerned).

But other inquirers can see other ways of accounting for both the extensive use of terms of relationship, and also for the customs and usages. Mr. Spencer says 'if these' (the terms in question) 'be not terms of relationship, then the language of these tribes is absolutely devoid of any such'.[1] Does he also argue that the Greek word *γυνή*, meaning 'woman', and the French word *femme*, meaning 'woman', both terms also indicating 'wife', prove that French and Greeks are 'absolutely destitute' of names for the relationship of a wife to her husband? A Frenchman calls his wife his 'woman' (*femme*), and he calls every adult member of the fair sex 'a woman'. An Arunta calls his wife *unawa*, and all other women of her tribal status he styles *unawa*. *Ma fille* is 'my daughter'; *fille* is any girl in the world. Judging by language the lively Gaul has been more promiscuous than the Arunta. The Frenchman and the Greek, like the Arunta, have, in general use, no word for 'wife' that does not include much more than the term 'wife' (*weib* = 'woman') now means in English. Will Mr. Spencer say of the Greek and French facts, as he does of the Australian, that he 'does not see how' (in this case) 'they can receive any satisfactory explanation, except on the theory of the former existence of group marriage' in France and Greece?[2] We are coming presently to Greek terms of relationship, but, meanwhile, Mr. Spencer's argument convicts Greeks and French, no less than savages, of pell-mell 'group marriage' in the past.

His theory appears to be that primaeval savages knew (in one sense) the meanings of words corresponding to our 'fathers', 'mothers,' 'children,' 'brothers,' 'wives,' 'sisters,' but, not knowing 'who was who', they applied the words to whole batches of adult men and women, and to their joint offspring.

[1] *Central Tribes*, p. 58. [2] *Central Tribes*, p. 59.

It is not easy to find a clearly reasoned and coherent statement of the theory of promiscuity, and of its gradual subjection to law. The difficulties begin at what is commonly, though perhaps erroneously, regarded by our authorities as the first step towards regulation of marriage, the division of a promiscuous community into two exogamous and intermarrying hereditary sets or phratries. There is no harmony among the supporters of this opinion. We are, if I understand their case, to assume the existence of a local set of people, speaking the same language, and so far united that they are capable of holding legislative assemblies, and of accepting or rejecting legislative proposals made by the older and more experienced men. They live in, at least theoretical, promiscuity. There is no law, public or domestic, restraining unions of the nearest kin. All men and women have recognized 'common rights' in each other's affections, but, at least in many districts, the scarcity of supplies forces the people to wander in small groups, where the human passions of love and jealousy may (I think *must*) assert themselves. The result must be (one thinks) that each man recognizes his special women, and the children whom he regards as his own in a special sense. If there were, originally, 'common rights' between the sexes, these rights, Mr. Howitt suggests, would 'remain in abeyance', in each wandering group, till the groups met at the harvesting of wild fruits, or on occasions of ceremony. On such occasions the supposed original promiscuity would reassert itself, as sexual licence does arise in many savage festivals.

This is what I understand to be the theory of Mr. Howitt.[1] If not a theory, it is a sketch of a working hypothesis. It assumes that the wandering small groups were friendly to each other, not hostile; and it hints that we may 'admit' the existence of 'common rights between the members of the Commune', that is, the group as it was before the scarcity of supplies caused it to break up. Why that original group should have been more promiscuous than each later emigrant group, I do not know. It could not be larger than each of these (assuming scarcity of supplies), and why are its members to be more destitute of 'individual likes and dislikes' than the members of the emigrant groups? These things are not explained.

Granting the position, so far, it is plain enough to me that, in everyday life, male parents, from jealousy (if paternal incest existed), and, in any case, for the natural purpose of preserving the peace of the fire circle from jealous broils, would put down amours between the young males and females, children of the woman whom each grown-up male might regard as especially his own. In the small roaming groups

[1] *N.T.S.E.A.*, pp. 173, 174.

for which the men and women provided food, these relationships could not but be distinguished, I think, and, if distinguished, they must have had distinguishing names, such as '*my* man or men', '*my* women,' '*my* little ones.'

So far, I think, a domestic rule of exogamy must have been in existence in everyday life. But, admitting the revival of the supposed promiscuity at the hypothetical great meetings, the seniors might find that their fire-circle rule was broken by their young people on these festive occasions. They would not like this; and at the meetings the seniors would 'growl' together. Supposing the seniors to have deliberative and legislative functions, I suggest their *domestic* rule as an intelligible and human motive for desiring to pass a *tribal* rule enforcing the *domestic* rule. Young people, not allowed by their seniors to make love to each other in daily life, must lie under the same prohibition universally, even at 'desirable General Meetings'.

This is merely my own way of envisaging the circumstances precedent to the supposed legislative bisection of the community into two exogamous intermarrying phratries. But the supporters of the theory of this deliberative partition do not agree as to its motive. They have five different theories of the motive. We need not linger over their differences of opinion.

Mr. Howitt gives briefly Mr. Frazer's suggestions.[1] 'The effect of dividing the community into two exogamous intermarrying sections was to prevent the marriages of brothers with sisters . . . ,' and, we must add, of many persons who were not brothers and sisters. This rule, thus understood, must at once have created a kind of *tribal* brotherhood and sisterhood between all males and females in each phratry. I being a male in phratry Eagle Hawk, the purpose of the rule, as understood by Mr. Frazer, is to prevent me from marrying any of my sisters on the mother's side. But the rule also cuts me off from scores of women in my phratry who are not my sisters by blood. *All* the women in my phratry are to be, to me, as sacred as my own sisters. They are all thus my *tribal* sisters, till later rules based on degrees of age are evolved. Now, if there then existed a term denoting 'sister', the word might come to be extended so as to include all the women who, in my phratry, are now as sacred as my sisters to me. Dr. Rivers writes, 'people in a low state of culture do extend the meaning of their kinship terms,' but he believes that the connotation even of the word 'mother' may have been extended (*op. cit.*, p. 317). Such extension would not prove that, from promiscuity and ignorance of blood relationships, all the women in my phratry had been in-

[1] *N.T.S.E.A.*, pp. 284 *et seqq.*

discriminately lumped together as persons in sisterly relations with me. The reverse, it is admitted, would be the fact; and this argument applies to all extensive classificatory terms of relationship. Thus, all women in the phratry not mine, Crow, would be, by the theory, open to me in marriage. They might be indiscriminately styled my 'women' (say *noa*, as in Dieri), my potential spouses. But it would not follow that they were all my actual spouses, they need no more be *that* than all the women of my status in my phratry would actually be my 'sisters'.

To return, 'the undivided commune', recognizing fraternal and maternal relationships by blood, was wiser on this theory than Mr. Spencer's Australian savage, and *did* already, before a tribe existed, discriminate blood relationships, *had* 'an idea of relationships as we understand them'. I believe that this was indeed the case. It follows that 'own' relations, maternal and fraternal at least, were recognized *before* the evolution of the family groups into the tribe introduced 'tribal' mothers, brothers, and sisters. If recognized, could they fail to have distinguishing names? Such names could not be 'classificatory', because as yet there were no 'classes' by the hypothesis; there could be none till the making of the phratriac division.

We thus find a community with one set of mothers and their children in division A, and another set of mothers and their children in division B. The adult men, partners of women in division A, would have to be placed in division B, and the male partners of women in division B would have to be placed in division A, I suppose. All A's marry only B's, and vice versa. (This is not Mr. Spencer's scheme; in his opinion all bearers of 'totem names' were placed, some totems in one, others in the other division. This is the actual arrangement to-day except in the Arunta 'nation'.)

One of the results of Mr. Frazer's scheme would be that no man could marry his sister uterine, for she is in his division. As to the reason for this supposed division no two authorities seem to be agreed.[1] In this community, thus envisaged, the relations of mothers to children, of brothers to sisters, are said by Mr. Frazer to be already recognized, while, I suppose, there was some sort of recognition of fathers. Their part in procreation need not have been recognized, could not have been recognized if it was held that the animating spirit of each child,

[1] Cf. Mr. Howitt, op. cit., pp. 284, 285; Mr. Frazer, *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1905; Mr. Spencer, *Report of Australian Association*, 1905, p. 421; Dr. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, p. 69; Mr. Hartland, Presidential Address to the Folk-Lore Society. Five men, five opinions.

and even its bodily vehicle, were provided by some supernormal being. (For this belief cf. Dr. Roth's Bulletin 5, on the North Queensland Aborigines.) But the paternal relations of protecting and nourishing certain children, and of continuous association with the mothers of the children, could scarcely, I think, evade observation.

If I am right, then the community understood the distinct relationships of male and female sexual associates, and had a law to govern them. It understood the relations of mothers and children, of brothers and sisters, and had a law forbidding sexual unions between them. These essential sets of relationships would have names, would they not? And it is, given the nature of linguistic evolution, most probable that these names or terms of relationship were carried on from the previous lawless state of the community.

But the tribe, as it advanced, evolved a vast body of customary laws, regulating every detail of life, always with an eye on distinctions of age. Each age-grade, or, roughly speaking, each generation, had its duties, privileges, and restrictions. These made it necessary to have names, as we have not, for elder and younger brothers and sisters (their duties and restrictions being different). The latitude of choice in marriage, by the theory, was more and more restricted, and the next restriction aimed at was to limit marriage within the generation of the lovers. For intermarriageable persons on the same generation-level, and in opposite phratries, therefore, names would now be needed. The simplest way of forming them would be to group the men as all, from the point of view of the children, 'fathers' of the coming generation. Thus, in Dieri, *Ngaperi*, 'father,' *Ngaperi waka*, 'little fathers,' otherwise 'father's brothers'.[1] For the women, *Ngandri*, = 'mother,' 'mother's sisters.' These, according to Messrs. Gason, Flierl, and Vogelsung, are *Ngandri* or *Andri waka*, 'little mothers' sisters.' Mr. Howitt, in 1904, dropped the distinguishing *waka*.[2] In relation to each other the two intermarriageable generations are termed, in Dieri, *Noa*. According to Mr. Curr's information, *Noa* merely means 'woman'. In Kurnai, the married men and their brothers are, to the women, simply 'man' (*Bra*). We have, I think, no other original senses of Australian names of relationship given to us.

My theory, then, is that, as tribal law developed, regulating all things by grade of age, the old names for the nearest relationships were simply extended (sometimes with qualifications, such as 'elder', 'younger,' 'little') to all persons of the same age-grade, in the same phratry, with the same duties, privileges, and restrictions. This kind

[1] Howitt, p. 160.

[2] *J.A.I.*, vol. xx, p. 54. *N.T.S.E.A.*, p. 160 (1904).

of extension is familiar in modern custom. In the sixteenth century 'brother' included 'brother-in-law'; 'nephew' and 'cousin' were scarcely distinguished; 'cousin' was equivalent to 'kinsman', however remote; and 'brother', as in Greek, was apt to be extended to near male relations, while 'father' and 'mother' and 'child', as terms of address, were, and are, widely applied.

Now, if we examine the terms of relationship in Greek, for example, we find that they also, with one or two exceptions, are of the widest generality. Father (*πατήρ*) is taken to be allied with the Sanskrit *pâ*, 'to nourish': mother, *μήτηρ*, *μαῖα* ('nurse') with the Sanskrit *mā*, 'to make.' But we can have no certainty; *ma* and *pa*, as Dr. Westermarck observes, occur among many savage terms for father and mother, and are formed from 'the easiest sounds a child can produce', the ease varying among different peoples. Many examples are given from savage, barbaric, and civilized languages, and many more have been collected by Professor Buschmann. Dr. Westermarck says 'the origin of such terms is obvious. They are formed from the easiest sounds a child can produce'; different races 'varying very considerably with regard to the ease with which they produce certain sounds'.[1] He goes on, and here he may be in error, 'it is evident that the terms borrowed from the children's lips have no intrinsic meaning whatever.' But, probably everywhere, and certainly among ourselves, the terms *pa* and *ma* are deliberately *taught* to very young children, who are urged to associate *pa* with 'father', *ma* with 'mother'. The words have thus a meaning. The little innocent naturally, at first, applies *pa* to any man, *ma* to any woman, but it is not allowed to continue in the use of this promiscuous terminology.

What seems to be the course of evolution is that the elders, in archaic times, selected the easiest syllables, taught the babies to pronounce them, and taught them also to associate the terms with 'father' and 'mother'. If, then, the terms, *pa*, *ta*, *ap*, *at*, *ab*, &c., for 'father', with *ma*, *na*, *am*, *an*, for mother, were *taught* to children, by savages, as the easy syllables for them to utter, such terms for 'father' and 'mother' were not borrowed from the natural babble of infancy, but were placed in the lips of infants as the easiest designations of 'father' and 'mother', by people who well knew their meaning. Naturally, as among ourselves, these easy syllables may be left to childish use by many peoples, and much more difficult terms for 'father' and 'mother'—terms whose original meaning is unknown to us—may be, and commonly are, used by mature savages, just as 'father', not *pa*, is used by us.

[1] Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 85–9.

In the Australian terms the easy syllables are not usually found. In the Umbaia tribe, however, with several of its neighbours, we do find *pappa*, not for 'father', but for 'elder brothers', Warramunga, *papati* ('elder brother'), Tjingilli, *pappa* (or *pauerli*). Among the Tjingilli *pappa* also does duty for the people who have status-duties to 'elder brothers', children and grandchildren. The Australian terms have a way of embracing those who receive, and those who perform the duties, those who are potential recipients, and those who are potential payers of the dues. Thus *nupa*, *noa*, and *unawa* denote not only a man's wife, but all who, legally, might have been his wife.

The Gnanji term for 'elder brothers' is *pappai*; elder sisters are *pappani*; no term for 'children' is given. In Anula elder brother is *Tjapapa*, 'elder sister' is *Natjapapa*.[1]

We have now shown plenty of 'pappa' among the Northern tribes, but the term is not applied to fathers. For *ma* we have Greek μᾶ (mother, nurse, grandmother); Arunta *mia*, 'mother'; Kurnai *Maian* (wife, wife's kin), corresponding to *Bra*, 'man,' 'husband'; so that *Maia* may = woman; we have Tupi (Brazilian) *maia* for 'mother', *paia* for 'father', and so forth. All these terms show their origin in easy syllables, probably taught as denoting 'father' and 'mother' to young children.

The Greek language, with πᾶ, and πάππας, and πάππος (grandfather), is merely an example of the early practice.

Turning next to Greek for 'husband' Greek has ἀνήρ, which merely means 'male', and may be applied to a woman's paramour, as opposed to πόσις, a legal husband. πόσις, again (originally πότις), means (Sanskrit *pat*-is) 'man' or 'lord', or 'master'. Ἀνήρ, a woman speaking, is 'my man'; nothing can be more general; πότις may have meant 'man', or (a woman speaking) 'my master'. Mrs. Thrale always called Mr. Thrale 'my master',[2] and we speak of a lady's husband sometimes as her 'lord'. Ἀνήρ is entirely general—any man; πόσις denotes, first, 'man', next, 'master,' an individual proprietary relationship.

'Wife,' γυνή, is as wide a term as possible, meaning simply 'woman'. From its forms in various Aryan tongues, and from other unmentionable words in these, it clearly denotes *sex* and reproduction. Now sex and bringing to birth could not escape the notice of the assumed promiscuous horde.

Son and daughter are both παῖς, 'child,' 'youngling,' terms of age

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 78-89.

[2] Quite common in some parts of England still. The gaffer, my old man, &c., are also used.

absolutely general; the term is stretched, like *garçon* and the colonial 'boy', to include male servants of any age.

'Brother,' 'sister,' ἀδελφός, ἀδελφή, mean 'from the same womb', and show a recognition of maternity, which is, perhaps, not a step in advance of the promiscuous horde, if, in that horde, maternal affection had been developed.[1]

People of the same 'clan', or γένος, came to be called ὁμογάλακτες, 'of the same milk'. But this must be an extended use of the word, which implies merely persons with the same mother (or foster-mother, if fosterage prevailed).

'First cousin,' 'nephew,' ἀνεψιός, mean 'of the same kin'. As kinship is here recognized, this does go beyond the terminology of the primitive promiscuous horde. We have a Greek term of status in ἐεδνωταί (*Iliad*, xiii. 382), 'they who arrange the terms of the bride-price.'

Bride, nubile girl, married woman (νύμφη), has the *nu* root of Latin *nurus*, 'daughter-in-law,' *nuptiae*, *nubilis*. Any one who pleases may compare Urabunna *Nupa*!

From the examination of these terms of relationship in Greek it is plain that most of them are within the scope of invention of the assumed promiscuous horde, as they merely denote sex (husband, wife), or age (child, son, daughter). Others, as 'brother', 'sister,' denote, in Greek, a recognized common mother; others, 'nephew, first cousin,' show that kinship is recognized, but scarcely that degrees of distance in kinship are recognized.

In our own colloquial speech, a woman for 'my husband' says 'my man'; a man, in some classes, calls his wife 'my old woman'. We talk of our 'bairns' and 'children', and 'our boys' and 'girls', all of them terms of youth, as general as the promiscuous horde could have applied to the younger generation. 'Wife' is only 'woman' (*weib*).

It is plain and certain, not a guess, that the relationship terms of the most civilized peoples are of a latitude which might go back to the palmy days of the promiscuous horde, as they denote only sex and age, or are derived (*pa*, *ma*) from easy syllables taught to infants. Among the Greeks and ourselves 'man' and 'woman' ('husband' and 'wife') are general terms appropriated to the terminology of a society with individual marriage. In Greek the words for 'brother', 'sister,' and 'kin' imply acquaintance with such facts of maternity as even the promiscuous tropical horde could scarcely help recognizing, if women shared with other mammals the maternal instinct. Sons

[1] Nothing is known of the original sense of φράτηρ, brother.

and daughters are alike known by a term for youth, a condition obvious to the most promiscuous horde. Does it follow that the Greeks and we ourselves retain, scarcely altered, relationship terms which a promiscuous horde, in a tropical region, might have evolved (*though not yet as terms of relationship*)?

I am not of that opinion (though I make a present of it to believers in such a horde), because I conceive that early man (not living in a horde, but like Mr. Darwin's early man with his harem, or as in Mr. Howitt's suggested early Australian nomadic groups, small, and conditioned by 'individual likes and dislikes') (*N.T.S.E.A.*, pp. 173–4) might have evolved the terms just as easily. The male and female mates could talk of '*our* little ones', '*our* young ones'; each male could call his female mate or mates '*my* woman', or '*my* women'; the females could each speak of '*my* man', or—if their man were singularly free from jealousy—'*my* men'; and a child could recognize such other children as were 'from the same womb', or 'nourished by the same milk' as himself; while his father (or, if *he* was not recognizable, the adult males of the little group), would be to the child 'the food bringer', 'the governor' (as among our youth), or the 'master', or what not. Thus the terms now denoting relationships might arise as easily among half-starved nomads, with 'individual likes and dislikes', as among a full-fed, promiscuous, tropical horde.

Civilized peoples have thus appropriated general terms of sex and age to the individual marriages and descents, and parentage of each man, woman, and child. The members of the earliest small wandering groups of Australia, with proprietorship of some men in some women (proprietorship caused by the animal passions of love and jealousy), could do the same.

Each such group would thus have its individual terms of relationship. But when many such wandering groups, after an age of hostility, and, probably, of wife-raiding from each other, combined into a local tribe, with its phratries and totem kins, a large body of customary law was gradually evolved; chiefly regulating *legal* sexual unions, and duties to be paid to the old, by the adult; and to both, in different degrees, by the young, also by sons-in-law to the parents of their wives. In the course of time many grades of tribal status, privileges, duties, and avoidances have been developed. These ranks in status needed names, and names for them could be obtained by extending the old general terms of relationship to all persons of the same tribal and phratriac, and totemic, and 'sub-class' status. The old term for 'father', whatever its original meaning, was extended

I suppose, to all men of the father's phratry, age-grade, and marriageableness, and so on, when possible, with all the rest.

Economy of effort rules linguistic evolution. When the little groups are blended in the tribe, and while the tribe evolves customary laws instituting status, duties, privileges, and avoidances, the old words are merely extended so as to designate the fresh sets of status. We know the undeniable accommodation of the Kurnai *Bra*, 'man,' to the marriage rules and resulting relationships. *Bra*, in its legal sense, is applied by a woman to her husband and husband's brother (own or tribal) (*N.T.S.E.A.*, p. 169). The Dieri *noa* ('woman') is another example, unless Curr erroneously gives *noa* as the word for 'woman'. *Noa*, in the legal sense, means 'intermarriageable'. We can go no further here without enlightenment from philology. 'The point selected for emphasis', says Mr. Thomas (as regards the term *noa*, but his words are true for all the terms), 'is the legality of such marital relations, whether existent or not.' [1]

The tribe, not the family, is now dominant, its rules override everything in the native mind, and the terms of status, with all that they connote, impress themselves even on the youngest members of the community; they are a legal education.

Mr. Thomas (speaking only of 'mother' and 'son' terms) does not admit my theory of the expansion of old names of relationships into terms of status (relationship, in our sense, being included). 'There is no evidence that such a thing has taken place,' he says, and, of course, without philological interpretation of the terms, proof cannot be given. Perhaps it never can be produced, but we need not say so till the investigation is made.

Mr. Thomas is no believer in primal promiscuity, or in 'group marriage'. It must be plain to him that men and women, *not* living in either of these conditions, and having the power of speech, must have used terms denoting their relationships with each other, with their elders, and with their offspring. What became of these terms? Did they die out when the groups became a tribe, with a body of law, and needed words to express degrees of status? I think not, and will give my reasons later.

Mr. Thomas says that, while there is no proof that original terms of relationship (he instances 'mother' and 'son') were later extended to her nephews (tribal?) and stepsons, 'we can see no reason why such a thing should take place.'

The reason would be human indolence; economy in linguistic evolution; a law which meets us everywhere. His third observation

[1] *Kinship and Marriage in Australia*, pp. 125–6.

is only a thrust at 'the philological argument' (from existing terms of relationship) for a past of 'group marriage'.

His own opinion is that the terms (say that which the mother uses of her son) 'may have been expressive of tribal or group status, and may have had nothing to do with descent'.[1] Terms for son, in the case of our 'child', or 'boy', or the Greek παῖς, *have* 'nothing to do with descent', they indicate 'the young ones'. But such terms must have existed before the tribal rules of status existed, and it was human and natural not to coin new words, but to carry on the old words in an extended significance. Mr. Thomas says, 'if . . . we regard the terms of relationship, *as originally indicative of tribal status*, 'and suppose they have been transformed in the course of ages into 'descriptive' terms such as we use in everyday life, the difficulties vanish.'[2]

But there were human beings living in a non-promiscuous state (I think we are in harmony on this point), long before there was that late 'conquest of culture', the tribe, with its rules of status. These human beings must have had 'terms of relationship' (in origin merely terms of age and sex), and my opinion, based on the familiar working of evolution, is that these terms were merely extended to include the later relations of tribal status. That was the cheapest and easiest way of doing the business. Again *we* do not always use 'descriptive' terms in ordinary life. We use vast general terms of age and sex, now appropriated to our *own* peculiar 'woman', 'man,' and 'little ones', our 'governor', 'provider,' and so forth; that is, such are the original senses of our terms of relationship.

It is true that, in Lifu, the term for 'sister' is a legal term of status, meaning 'not to be touched', while the names for 'elder and younger brother' are of the same kind, meaning 'ruler' and 'ruled'.[3] It would be most interesting to know whether or not existing Australian words for 'sister' and 'elder and younger brother' also arose as words of status, age, and sex.

Here a curious question arises. If, in the condition of the Australian tribes, the original meanings of the existing terms of relationship indicate legal status, and if the ancestors of the Greeks and of ourselves have passed through the same legal conditions (through the estate of the savage tribe), how is it that our words for relationships, Greek and English, never (save where πόσις denotes 'master'; and 'governor' and 'master' are used in slang) denote legal status, as, in Lifu, 'sister' = 'not to be touched'; 'elder

[1] *Kinship*, pp. 119, 120. [2] *Kinship*, p. 125.
[3] Westermarck, p. 89.

brother' = 'ruler'; 'younger brother' = 'ruled'? How did the Greeks, like ourselves, shake off all their legal terminology of relationships, if they once had it?

Mr. Thomas's hypothesis appears to be that the Australians, as they evolved degrees of legal status, with all their duties and privileges, also coined words to express them, or specialized for their expression old words, such as 'not to be touched', 'rulers,' and 'ruled'. This may have happened in some cases; but older terms of relationship, indicating age and sex, would also be extended to cover the new degrees of status where it was possible.

This is probable, because when the ancestors of the Greeks and ourselves passed out of the state of the savage tribe, they did not abandon the archaic general terms for husband, wife, and children, and brothers and sisters, for anything more scientific and really descriptive. For husband and wife they could have used our 'bedfellows', and their poets *did* use the Greek equivalents ἄλοχος and ἀκοίτης. But these words remained 'poetical'. Our ancestors might have used 'bedfellow', 'begetter,' 'begotten,' and so forth; but they, in fact, remained constant to their old general words, 'husband' implying something more advanced than 'man', though 'man' for 'husband' is in common use. In Greece even *pappas* and *pa*, for father, and *ma*, for mother, did not disappear.

Thus it is clear that people cling to the oldest words that will serve their turn, and, when degrees of tribal status arose, the Australians would do as others do in full civilization.

It thus appears that, when the ancestors of Greeks and English passed out of the savage tribal state (if ever they were in it), the words for now obsolete degrees of status (as of 'elder' and 'younger' brothers and sisters) expired; while the ancient terms of near relationships, after serving their turn as status terms, reverted to their original significance. Strange fortunes of words!

My theory, or guess, is not intended as an argument against promiscuity and group marriage. Granted the promiscuous horde, it would have terms for 'man', 'woman,' 'old,' 'young,' and probably for 'mother' and 'child', male or female. Let the horde, nobody knows why (there are five separate guesses), bisect itself into two exogamous and intermarrying phratries. Let it redistribute its totem kins, so that no persons may marry within a whole set of different totem names, (why they did *this* the theory of reformation of morals does not explain). Let them introduce the customary laws based on age-grades, and then there will arise many degrees of tribal status, each with its duties, privileges, and avoidances. These degrees of status

will need names, and the pre-existing terms denoting merely diversities of sex, age, and the fact of maternity (if it were recognized) will help to provide the materials for the terminology of tribal status.

On my theory, just as wide general words for sex and age have been appropriated by the Greeks and ourselves, to denote relationships, while they continue to keep their wide inclusive sense, signifying age and sex; so, among the Australians, terms equally general were appropriated, first, to individual relationships ('*my* man', '*my* woman,' &c.), and next, under tribal law, were extended to serve as terms of status and age-grade, while they still include the individual relationships of father, son, husband, wife, brother, sister, and so forth. The tribal relationships are distinguished by qualifying adjectives, as *waka* from the 'own' relationships. All this might occur, I think, whether society began in a promiscuous horde, or in groups so small that individual relationships were recognized and acknowledged.

Necessarily the theory can only be established, for Australia, by philological examination of many Australian languages. The theory rests on the analogy of Aryan languages, and on the usual processes of linguistic evolution, and has, for the special case of Australia, only the instance of the process exemplified by the Kurnai *bra* (what does *maian* mean ?), and the possible case of the Dieri *noa*.

It is hazardous, indeed, to deal with tribal etymologies, but, among several northern tribes, *nia* or *ina* is clearly a suffix denoting the feminine. Thus (Umbaia), 'father,' *ita*; 'father's sister,' *itinnia*.

Tjingilli, father,' *kita*; 'mother,' *thinkatini*. This is only useful if *kat* and *kit* are equivalent; but *ini* or *ni* seems feminine, as in *kalini*, 'wife'; *wankilli*, 'mother's brother's son'; *wankillini*, 'mother's brother's daughter.' Again, 'husband,' *nambia*; 'husband's sister,' *nambini*.

We have Gnanji, 'father,' *itipati*; 'father's sister,' *itina*; where we might expect *itipatina*, 'younger brother'; *kakula*, 'younger sister.' *Kakallina*; 'husband,' *kari*; 'wife,' *karinia*. The odd thing is that the word for 'wife' is so seldom the obvious feminine form of the word for 'husband'. We do find *nga* in Dieri, *nga peri*, 'father,' and *ngandri*, 'mother,' also in *ngatandi*, 'child.'

What is *ng* or *nga* ? If we might be permitted to cite Mr. Howitt's earlier works, he used to give *apiri*, 'father'; *andri*, 'mother.'[1] Now he gives *ngaperi*, *ngandri*, and other *ngs*, including *ngatata*, 'm' (male) and 'f' (female) 'speaking'. Is the new *ng* or *nga* the

[1] *J.A.I.*, vol. xx, p.58.

possessive pronoun 'my'? Or is it merely phonetic, rendering *andri* more correctly as *ngandri*? Probably this is the correct view.

When I have expressed curiosity as to 'the original sense' of relationship terms I have been told that the names 'have the original sense', in so far as they exactly define the conditions to which they are applied. Persons who can reason thus are ill to reason with! The original sense of the word 'queen' is 'woman'. By this time 'queen' 'exactly denotes the' (royal and feminine) 'condition to which it is applied', but I am not asking for that sense when I ask for 'the original sense of the word queen'.

Nothing can be thoroughly known about the Australian terms till philology examines them.

My provisional conclusion is that the classificatory widely inclusive terms of relationship prove nothing, either for or against the theory of primal promiscuity. Judging from languages which can be criticized by philology, Greek, French, Latin, English, German, the names for relationships are in origin of the widest significance, denoting age, sex, and perhaps, in the case of the father, lordship and protection. In Greek brother and sister point no further forward than the obvious circumstance that the persons called brother and sister have a common source, come from the same womb. The terms for relationships are circumscribed in their vast generality by the use of the possessive pronouns, as in Toda and Fijian.

The wide terms would be used either by a people living in promiscuity, and not discriminating by any mark of property, any *meum* or *tuum*; or they could be used by persons living in the Darwinian Cyclopean family, who would add, in words, the mark of property, 'my woman,' 'my man,' 'my young one.' Let such Cyclopean families combine into a tribe. The domestic rules of life become wider tribal rules, and are more and more elaborated, while the old linguistic terms are extended to meet the new conditions of society. Yet, all the while, the actual kinsfolk, even among the Dieri, are linguistically distinguished from the tribal relations.

Exactly the same things would happen, when once the tribe was evolved, if the people in it were originally promiscuous, and later came to make moral and legal distinctions.

Every one who has been 'man', 'young one,' 'woman,' would fall into grades, 'old man,' 'contemporary man,' 'marriageable to a man' (a woman speaking), and then 'my man', as the tribe advances to individual marriage. Though words indicating procreation and unions of man and wife, bedfellows, were evolved, they were not in regular and legal use, they are not yet in familiar use in Europe. I do

not, in a Will, leave this to my 'male progenitor', that to my 'female progenitor', my second best bed to 'my bedfellow', even if I do leave my estate to my 'issue'. People do not call their children, as a rule, their male and female issue. We still adhere to a primal generality of terms, modified by the possessive pronoun, but, as this does not prove that we were once promiscuous, the classificatory terms do not prove that the people who employ them were recently promiscuous.

THE RECORDS OF THE VENETIC LANGUAGE

By R. S. CONWAY

Read July 22, 1908

Professor Conway reported the results of his tour in Austria and the north of Italy, undertaken, with the aid of the Academy, in order to collect inscriptional and other material for the study of the ethnological questions which he had indicated at a meeting of the Academy in May, 1907. He said that he had revised the text of nearly all the inscriptions previously known (about eighty-eight in number), leaving only six or seven which had proved inaccessible within the limits of time at his disposal. Of the eighty-eight, three were Etruscan, and ten belonged to a problematic group which it was convenient to call Rhaetic, and which were found mostly in the region of the Brenner Pass, both north and south of it. To this group he had added eight hitherto unpublished. Nothing definite could at present be said as to their language or languages. To the seventy-five Venetic inscriptions which he had revised he had added eighteen hitherto unpublished. He now laid before the Academy several new conclusions, both as to the alphabet and the interpretation of this material. In the alphabet the symbol for θ, though preserved in the Abecedaria of Este, was very rare in the inscriptions found there, and hence Pauli had denied its use in Venetic altogether. But the inscriptions of Verona and Padua showed conclusively that the symbol was in use with a value roughly equivalent to that of *t*. One of the new inscriptions from Padua which contained it was of special importance—voθo kluθeari-s-vhaχ·s·θo.—as it gave a new verbal form which in Latin letters would be *facsto*. As this inscription was on a vase it clearly gave the name of the artist, and the verb meant 'made'. It showed also the probable origin of the Latin cognomen Otho, and explained the hitherto unintelligible aspirate in that word. In addition, it furnished evidence as to the meaning of the mysterious puncts in the middle of the letters of words which was the outstanding feature of Venetic inscriptions, and which had hitherto baffled inquiry. The value of θ was further determined by the word 'e-kupeθari-s', which he inferred from three or four

inscriptions to be either 'image' or, as Torp had suggested, 'charioteer.' Prof. Conway then exhibited the evidence as to the meaning of the puncts, which he contended were signs of accent, as in many words their position corresponded precisely with the accent on the cognate word in Greek. In this, as in some other respects, the language seemed to be intermediate between Latin and Greek, and to offer valuable evidence of the stage of development of the Indo-European languages generally in the sixth century B. C. On the ethnological questions Prof. Conway reported that, to judge by the pottery on which they were written, the oldest of the Venetic inscriptions belonged to the sixth century B. C., and that they were certainly written by a community which shared the Villanova culture, which first appeared in Este, as in Bologna, according to the accepted dating, in the eleventh or tenth century B. C. It remained, therefore, still to be determined whether, as Strabo thought, they were identical with the Veneti of Gaul, and so brought the language with them into Italy, or whether they had merely learnt the language from the people on the soil when they arrived. Further light he hoped might be obtained from the study of the very careful collection of the ancient names of places, gods, and persons of the different districts of North Italy, which had been made at his suggestion by Miss S. Elizabeth Jackson, B.A., Faulkner Fellow of the University of Manchester. This collection he submitted to the Academy with his own edition of the inscriptions for publication.

FLAWS IN CLASSICAL RESEARCH.

By J. P. POSTGATE

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read October 28, 1908

When our Council honoured me with an invitation which I esteemed as a command to read a paper to the Academy, I naturally gave much thought to the choice of a subject. It seemed to me that what might most fitly claim to occupy its attention would be the communication of some discovery or novel theory of importance within the regions over which its activities extend; such would be the new Indo-European language Tocharisch, the subject of a memoir lately presented to our sister of Berlin. But that is not possible to every one or in every season; and I regret, without surprise, that it has not been possible to me in this. In despair of offering a positive contribution I turned to the other side; and here I seemed to myself to have found a larger if not a fairer field. The surveillance, no less than the promotion of research, would appear to fall within the functions of an Academy, and if the mischiefs to which I shall advert exist, their recognition and their amendment may be reasonably regarded as its concern.

The due performance of my task involves the criticism of the utterances of contemporaries; but inasmuch as my business is not with individuals but with general types and tendencies of error, I shall avoid citing names wherever this is avoidable. References I must give in the interests of the argument; and if any scholar who desires to control my statements finds upon their verification *de sese fabulam narrari*, I trust that of my reticence at any rate he will not feel reason to complain. I will only add that I have not hunted for proofs of the positions, nor have I rejected illustrations that were pertinent merely because they might possibly be regarded as trite.

The main differences between classical and scientific investigations, technically so-called, are two. (1) The inquirer's self is implicated in the classical investigation as it is not implicated in the scientific. This is unavoidable. (2) The classical investigator does not correct for this disturbing influence as does the scientific. This is *not* unavoidable.

The astronomer, as a matter of course, allows for the visual peculiarities of the particular observer; the physicist isolates his

personal magnetism from the sphere of his experimenting as a matter of course. Does the classical inquirer commonly do anything corresponding? Does he? Can we say—to touch in passing upon what may be called mere human bias—that it will make no more difference to the investigation of a classical problem than it does to the investigation of a mathematical one if the investigator has been reviewed, never mind in what terms, by the author of the solution which he is considering. Has the truth about anything in Homer and Vergil no better a chance of acceptance in England if discovered by an Englishman, in Germany if by a German? The existence of such prejudices must not be ignored. We cannot indeed hope to remove them; but we should refrain both from palliating and from inflaming them, in the hope, ere long, of establishing an enlightened public opinion which shall decree that their indulgence is what it is—an intellectual humiliation.

No poring upon modern superiorities can escape the chastening reflection how often the recognized instructors of our public are in profound and circumstantial disagreement; how often with, presumably, the same evidence before them they passionately or obstinately maintain diametrically opposite conclusions. In textual criticism this is notorious. If any ask for proof, let them compare the views of Bernardakis and Wilamowitz on the *Moralia* of Plutarch; or, to take an instance nearer home, the Oxford and the Corpus texts of Propertius. The classical, unlike the scientific inquirer, takes small trouble to see that his chief instrument, his critical faculty, is accommodated to his work. He passes from pure to corrupted texts, or from corrupted to pure, with an unadjusted mind, correcting what he should interpret and explaining where he should amend.

Shall I say more about the idols of the textual critics? I think I will. First, then, I say that it is absurd for them to put forth as the object of their activity the systematic restoration of ancient texts 'as far as possible' to their original form, when it is notorious that, as far as possible, they systematically neglect one of the means of this restoration. Let it be admitted that a transposition of verses is often troublesome to judge and inconvenient to adopt, and that it is fair matter for consideration whether on other grounds it is expedient to make the change. But let us drop the farce of pretending that this has any bearing on its truth.

But on this I will not linger to-day, but proceed to what may perhaps be called the Critic's Paradox. In the ordinary affairs of life we aim at acting on each occasion as the balance of the

evidence, that is, the preponderance of probability shall determine. We do not take account of the circumstance that we have chosen rightly on a large number of previous similar occasions and that now it is our turn to be wrong. A man of business does not refrain from taking the train to the city because an accident is overdue. But a textual critic of a certain school does allow his judgement upon a particular passage to be discomposed by the fact that he has deviated from the traditions a number of times already. I have called this habit of mind the critic's paradox. But that was honouring it too much. For it is but a special manifestation of the rage to make system out of chance which fills the salons of Monte Carlo and makes a millionaire of M. Blanc.

The dissensions of different departments are perhaps more in evidence. Archaeologists, comparative mythologists, textual critics, philologers and literary critics shake their fists at each other from opposite sides of a channel, over which as a rule they do not adventure. . . . They cross at times with disastrous results. . . . There is something wrong here. We are not entitled to assume that one set of inquirers is as a class intellectually less competent than another. The facts of linguistics are facts just as much as the facts of archaeology, and so forth; and if the interpretation of facts tends inevitably to discord, it is the mode of interpreting that must be blamed. Nor will it escape the observant that the conclusions of the newer and less settled branches of inquiry are not always expressed with a proper reserve, when regard is had to the uncertainty of many of their data and the inevitable crudeness of some of their methods. On two occasions[1] I have ventured over the strait which divides me from the mythologists, and I have received the impression that their treatment of linguistic evidence at least is not as rigorous as it might be. But I would not make this a reproach against them; for it may be conceded that, even if they do not argue strictly, they argue as best they can.

Upon two *sequelae* of mythological inquiry I can here but briefly touch—its percolations into historical research. The practice, fast becoming a fashion, of treating the statements of sober historians as though they were the figments of mythopoeic hallucination, and that of discrediting an account of an event on the sole ground of its similarity to something which has been recorded before, are two

[1] In an examination of 'The Alleged Confusion of Nymph-Names', *American Journal of Philology*, xvii. pp. 30–44, xviii. 74 sq., and in a criticism of current misconceptions of the 'Heads of Cerberus', Preface to the English translation of Bréal's *Semantics* (pp. xvi–xxiv), where also some of the linguistic problems considered in the following pages are touched upon.

procedures as likely to be as mischievous as they are illegitimate.[1] The former operates with a subtle and powerful solvent that will destroy the fabric of ancient history: the latter challenges one of the fundamental principles of all historical science.

I pass to a consideration of the difficulties which are thrown in the way of the study of antiquity by the proclivities of modern life, speech and thought.

To speak first of words. Our knowledge of the ancient languages is and must be chiefly won through translation. On the imperfections of this method it is needless to enlarge. Suffice it to cite the well-known Italian proverb *tradottori traditori*, and to remind you of the frequency with which syntactical controversy, especially among our transatlantic cousins, is made to turn, not on the meaning of a construction, but upon its imperfect modern renderings.

The modern languages into which Latin has entered so largely, as an original or an accessory component, are full of traps for the student of the ancient speech. In English, for example, corresponding words no longer correspond. The dictionary translations are in many cases obsolete, and their drastic revision is an urgent need. Thus from *subtlety*, *elegance*, and *tremendous* there has evaporated or is evaporating all the essential flavour of their originals. There remains but the vain resemblance of sound to perplex our minds with a phantom of identity. Not the least value of the recent reform in Latin pronunciation is that it cuts away so many of these misleading and tantalizing associations.[2] The drift in this direction since the eighteenth century has been great and still increases. This struck me with especial force when I saw how the last editor of the comedies of Terence boggled over the play of words in the epitaph of Plautus

et numeri innumeri simul omnes collacrimarunt,

translating it

And Rhythms numberless all wept in concert.

The play would have caused no trouble in the days of Pope 'who lisped in *numbers*; for the numbers came'. The mischief is not confined to derivatives from Latin. Hardly any so-called equivalent of a Greek or Latin word but has its pitfall for the unwary. Because 'old woman' is slighting in English, we read in a recent note on

[1] I have referred to them in a review in the *Classical Quarterly* for October, 1907, pp. 312–17.

[2] Teachers of Latin must ever bear this in mind. Only the other day I asked a pupil of more than average intelligence why he had avoided *uegetus* in a version. His answer was that he always associated it with *vegetable*.

Terence, *Adelphoe* 617 '*matrona*, an elderly lady, can be called *anus* only in a slighting way'. This is not the case, as we can see from Catullus ix. 4 or even from *Hecyra* 231 quoted by the annotator himself, 'cum puella anum suscepisse inimicitias non pudet?' which means 'are you not ashamed at your age at quarrelling with a mere chit of a girl?' where, if anything is slighting, it is not *anus* but *puella*.[1]

The strong temptation which besets us to give to a word the sense that to us is the most familiar or impressive may be illustrated from the Latin noun *lacus*. The modern limitation of this word, in the sense of the French *lac*, the Italian *lago*, and the English *lake*, has distorted our feeling for the Latin uses, of which this was only among several. It has darkened a passage of Propertius of some literary and antiquarian interest, iv. 1. 121 sqq.:

> Vmbria te notis antiqua Penatibus edit
> (mentior an patriae tangitur ora tuae?)
> qua nebulosa cauo rorat Meuania campo
> et lacus aestiuis intepet Vmber aquis.

The straits into which an error of this kind may lead the commentator will be obvious from a note which I will translate from the German, 'We must understand the *lacus Vmber* which was probably drained under Theodoric. At least in Cassiodor. *Var.* ii. 21. 2 we hear of a plan for draining the "loca in Spoletino territorio caenosis fluentibus[2] inutiliter occupata". In summer it would supply a suitable swimming bath' ('Er wird im Sommer ein angenehmes Schwimmbad geboten haben'). So disastrous to the critical vision is the prepossession that *lacus* should denote a watery expanse that marshy pools round Spoleto in the times of Theodoric have to be at Bevagna some seven miles away in the time of Propertius. How the muddy (*caenosa*) or the steaming (*intepentia*) waters of such lagoons with their concomitants of mosquitoes and malaria would be a *suitable swimming bath in summer*, the reader is left to divine. To a Roman, however, *lacus* was a pit, tank, or basin, with no necessary connotation of extent. And here it has the sense of the basin or cup from which a stream springs at its source, as in Verg. *Aen.* viii. 74 sqq.:

> quo te cumque *lacus*, miserantem incommoda nostra,
> *fonte* tenet, quocumque *solo* pulcherrimus *exis*,
> semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis,
> corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum,

[1] Similar observations might be made with regard to *senex*, *γέρων*. The disparagement of age is a privilege of the junior world.

[2] Surely *fluentis*. Can either *caenosis* or *fluentibus* be a noun?

where Servius has 'dictus lacus quasi lacuna ex qua erumpens aqua facit "fontem" qui cum fluere coeperit "alueum" facit'. The word has the same sense in *Georg.* iv. 364 'speluncisque *lacus* clausos ; Lygdamus [Tib.] iii. 1. 16 'Castaliamque umbram Pieriosque *lacus*'; and Prop. iii. 3. 32 'tingunt Gorgoneo punica rostra *lacu*'.

The stream whose source is here regarded is the *Clitumnus*, the famous Umbrian river which Propertius celebrates elsewhere, as is clear from the well-known description in Pliny, *Ep.* viii. 8 'Vidistine aliquando Clitumnum fontem?—modicus collis adsurgit, antiqua cupresso nemorosus et opacus. hunc subter exit fons et exprimitur pluribus uenis sed imparibus eluctatusque quem facit gurgitem lato gremio patescit purus et uitreus'. Further on Pliny has 'rigor aquae certauerit niuibus nec color cedit', which would be enough to show that '*non* tepet' (Housman) should be restored for '*in*tepet' above, if the latter word were not already condemned by the parallel which is adduced to support it: Stat. *Theb.* ii. 376 'qua Lernaea *palus ambusta*que sontibus alte | *intepet* hydra uadis'.

Let me take a recent thesis and a not very ancient criticism, both perhaps familiar. 'I maintain that some *shall* idea is the real key to these [subjunctives]. If so, we English-speaking nations ought to bless our stars that we have been provided by the accident of language with a verb which seems to have been designed by Providence to make Latin modal syntax intelligible to us'.[1] Mr. V.'s 'notion of the dative case is a case which he can translate by "für"'.[2]

The perverting effect of the modern vocabulary is trifling compared with that of the modern syntax. It is the great gap between modern and ancient modes of connected expression, and the small success of teaching in bridging it for the average mind that are at the bottom of the outcry against Classics, which has been so loud in recent years. Very few among the longer sentences of modern languages would an ancient Greek or Roman have recognized as sentences at all—hardly any in English, a few more in French, and still a few more in German. And for a very obvious reason. To them it was of the essence of a sentence that the structure and the thought should be conterminous. Towards our 'sentences' he would have much the same feelings as a self-respecting vertebrate towards a worm or other similar creature, divisible, without injury to its economy, at almost any part of its length.

One main principle which it takes some trouble to grasp, and still

[1] *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, 1908, p. 29.

[2] A. E. Housman, Preface to *M. Manilii Astronomicon* Lib. I, 1903, p. li.

more to apply with precision, is that, within certain wide limits, order in modern sentences is syntactically essential and in ancient sentences syntactically indifferent. The modern sentence, to put it roughly, is an arrangement in line, the ancient one within a circle. Now the lineal habit of mind, if I may call it so, is often at a loss when it has to understand the circular; it is devoid of the sense of grouping; it has not been trained to the necessary attention. If the groups are small, the trouble thus caused is small; but it is not absent altogether. In the second half of the pentameter Tibullus writes *uir mulierque* (ii. 2. 2), Ovid *femina uirque.* The difference of order is absolutely without significance. But the lineal mind is apt to imagine that some subtle distinction between the places of man and woman is intended, as though Ovid were a sort of pro- and Tibullus an anti-suffragette. Terence, *Hec.* 315, has *rursum prorsum,* which judged by 'lineal' standards is strictly indefensible; compare *to and fro.* It is only because 'we English-speaking nations' happen to have a similar neglect of sequence in *backwards and forwards* that this does not strike us as strange. In a recent note on Ter. *Hec.* 159 sq. 'sed ut fit, postquam hunc alienum ab sese uidet, | maligna multo et magis procax facta ilico est', it is said of the second line that the order is 'capricious'. The order is not capricious. It is not (that is true) the order of a Latinist of the twentieth century A.D., who would doubtless prefer 'multo magis maligna et procax'. But it is just as clear and far more effective, if the sentence is taken as a whole and due heed be paid to the binding alliteration (pp. 198 sqq. below). A good many years ago Mr. T. E. Page[1] called attention to the irrationality of current views of the figure called *hysteron proteron,* as in Eur. *Hec.* 266 κείνη γὰρ ὤλεσέν νιν ἐς Τροίαν τ' ἄγει. To the lineal mind these 'inversions' are nonsense; to the circular but legitimate variations. I have lately[2] referred to *hyperbata* or dislocations of order, and shown how in Catullus lxvi. 77 an hyperbaton has caused the greatest trouble to a long succession of scholars[3] who attacked the passage upon lineal theories. The real character of such arrangements is seen in passages like Ter. *Ad.* 917 'tu illas abi et *traduce*; and Lucan, viii. 342 sq. 'quem captos ducere reges | uidit ab Hyrcanis Indoque a litore *siluis*', which almost shriek at us the warning *respice finem.*

Not only does the lineal habit hinder our sight of real connexions between the distant members of a sentence, but it causes us to find

[1] *Classical Review,* viii. 1894, p. 204.
[2] *Classical Philology* (July, 1908), iii. p. 259.
[3] Not excepting the last editor of the poem (Teubner, 1908).

imaginary bonds between adjacent ones. In the article above referred to (p. 260) I cited two passages where words in tempting juxtaposition to the lineal mind have been taken together without regard to the sentence as a whole. One of these, Ar. *Lys.* 628 καὶ διαλλάττειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν Λακωνικοῖς, has an adverb (πρός) in a place where it aggrieves us by not being a preposition. Sometimes the offended lineal sense is soothed with a label on the offending order. At Ter. *Hec.* 364 'qua me propter exanimatum citius eduxi foras' you will find that *qua me propter* is a 'tmesis' for *quapropter me*,[1] and that at *Hec.* 58 'per pol quam pannos' *per pol quam* is again a 'tmesis' for *pol perquam.* The Romans had a way of putting *per* where we do not expect or approve of it, and however many times we may have met the Latin formula *per te deos oro* we settle with satisfaction on a passage like Horace, *Odes* i. 8. 1 'Lydia, dic per omnes | te deos oro', because there the poet has happened to leave the *per* in front of an accusative with which we can construe it. These 'inversions' or 'dislocations' are not confined to *per* or to Latin. Mr. Housman on Manilius i. 245 has given an ample collection for other prepositions, and within the last few weeks I have had ocular demonstration of the havoc which may be wrought among translators by Callimachus's inconsiderate arrangement of the words ἐς δὲ δάκρυ μ' ἤγαγε as ἐς δέ με δάκρυ | ἤγαγε *Anth. Gr.* vii. 80. For other examples I may refer to my remarks in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. 17, p. 260. I commented there on misunderstandings of the Greek article for which juxtaposition was responsible. The warning of twenty years ago is still by no means superfluous.

What the ancients called *hyperbaton in syllables* is from the modern point of view so singular that it demands a separate mention. Tryphon (*Boisson. Anecd.* iii. p. 274) has ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ὑπερβατὰ πεποιήκασιν ὡς καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι

> Ἑρμῆν τόνδ' ἀνέθη Δημήτριος ὀρθιάδον κεν[2]
> ἐν προθύροις

Besides this ἀνέθη—κεν of Simonides we may set the lines of Ennius—

> saxo cere- comminuit -brum

and

> lagoenas
> Massili- portabant iuuenes ad litora -tanas.

(For more examples see L. Mueller's *de re metrica*, pp. 457 sqq.)

[1] There is an exact parallel to this in Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 95 'quo, bone, circa', '*tmesis rarissima*', say the annotators. It is fortunate that the students of English are exempted from learning that 'to us ward' is a tmesis for 'toward us'.

[2] So acutely restored by the brilliant Greek scholar whose recent death we deplore—W. G. Headlam, *Journal of Philology*, xxvi. p. 93.

These are anyhow strange licences or, if we must adopt the condemnatory tone of Headlam upon the Greek example, 'grave lapses' of language. But to modern speech they are more; they are sheer impossibilities. And so they are not imitated and cannot even be reproduced.

Hypallage, a figure which, wherever there is an opening, the modern annotator is prone to misunderstand (for example you will find the *os trilingue* ascribed by Horace to Cerberus, *Carm.* ii. 19. 31, still explained as a 'three-tongued mouth' instead of a 'triple mouth-and-tongue'), is intelligible as soon as the principle of the sentence's totality has been grasped. There is no real disorder in Homer's Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου or Vergil's *arma dei Volcania*, and the mobility of thought which enabled an ancient to say what to our analysis is 'the seven-walled exits' τὰς ἑπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους (Aesch.), though it means 'the seven exits of walls', is capable of still further extensions.

In his *Pharsalia*, book viii. 542 sqq., Lucan, to convey the thought 'Gods, who would have thought there was such daring within the bounds of Egypt?', writes:

> O Superi, Nilusne et barbara Memphis
> et *Pelusiaci* tam mollis turba *Canopi*
> hos animos?

Now *Canopus* was on the westernmost, but *Pelusium* on the easternmost arm of the Nile; and less than eighty lines back the poet has defined its position, 'qua diuidui pars maxima Nili | in uada decurrit Pelusia septimus amnis.' But since to us the phrase 'Pelusian Canopos' is as meaningless as 'Doverian Folkestone' would be, it is the fashion to say that 'Pelusian' simply means *Egyptian*, thus imputing to the author a gross, if concealed, tautology. But a Roman reader would have understood without more ado that Lucan meant the inhabitants of Egypt wherever they were to be found, the population of the river-side to Memphis in the interior and that of the Delta seaboard *from Canopus to Pelusium*: and the censure of Oudendorp *ad loc.* 'eodem iure alicui dicere liceret *Pelusium Canopicum* cum sint duo extrema Nili ostia, Pelusium ad Orientem, Canopos ad occidentem' would have seemed to him its sole and best defence.[1]

[1] The phrase 'caught on'. Not only does Statius quote it in his tribute to the memory of Lucan, *Silu.* ii. 7. 70 'Pelusiaci scelus Canopi'; but the wordy paraphrast of Dionysius Periegetes substitutes it for the Ἀμυκλαίοιο Κανώβου of his original 'et Pelusiaci celebrantur templa Canopi', Auien. iii. 24. Lastly we meet it in Sidonius, *Carm.* ix. 27. 4.

Look out *Aganippis* in a well-known dictionary and you will find '*Aganippis, -idis, f., that is sacred to the Muses*: fontes Aganippidos, Hippocrenes, Ov. *F.* 5. 7'; refer to a commentary on the passage quoted and you will see that it is to mean 'inspiring song' ('begeisternd'), turn to a leading Latin lexicon[1] and you are presented with both, 'der den Musen heiligen u. begeisternden'. As Aganippe and Hippocrene were separate but adjoining springs, these efforts of interpretation would correspond to explaining a phrase 'Buxtonian Matlock' as either (1) '*anti-rheumatic* Matlock' (viz. Matlock with the properties of Buxton), or (2) '*Aesculapian* Matlock' (Matlock sacred to the Buxton god of healing), or (3) as 'Aesculapian *and* anti-rheumatic Matlock'.[2] Now what are the reasons for such contortions of interpretation? There are two. The first is that the commentators are aware that Ovid knew perfectly well that Aganippe and Hippocrene were different springs, *Met.* v. 312 'fonte Medusaeo (i.e. Hippocrene) et Hyantea Aganippe', and the second is that we are by first and second nature constitutionally unfitted to conceive of a state of mind to which 'Aganipp*is* Hippocren*e*' and 'Aganipp*e* Hippocren*is*' could mean exactly the same thing, viz. the couple of hippine springs, Aganippe-Hippocrene. For this was what Ovid intended by the phrase which has puzzled us.

> dicite quae *fontes Aganippidos Hippocrenes*
> grata Medusaei signa tenetis equi.

Attentive consideration of these passages enables us to pronounce upon a much canvassed line of Propertius, iii. 22. 15, where the MSS. have

> et si qua *orige* uisenda est ora Caystri.

Here Haupt saw the sense which was required when he emended 'et sis quae *Ortygia* (= Ephesus) *et* uisenda est ora Caystri'. But the true correction had already been made by J. Voss, *Ortygii—Caystri*, that is 'the Cayster with Ephesus'. In *Ortigii*, *ti* fell out before *gi*,

[1] The great *Thesaurus* is silent.

[2] I would apologize for these [illegible]lities of repr[illegible]r the detection of the impostures the impostors must be stripp[illegible]n. But f[illegible] a -tanas. garb A fourth attempt at a solution I have passed over. Of A[illegible] ancient [illegible] ther dictionary, 'on la confonde avec l'Hippocrène.' If 'on' [illegible] says ano[illegible]a. pp. 4[illegible] answer to the calumny is below. If 'on' is to have a wider re[illegible]ence, wh[illegible] 'quo[illegible]re, we may ask, outside of an asylum can such a confusion be engen[illegible]dered? [illegible] that the[illegible] us the place, and we shall know it for one where 'Brighton-Hastings' [illegible]es or 'Brig[illegible]htonian Hastings' may mean 'Hastings, which the writer [illegible]ounds with Brig[illegible]hton', and 'fox-dog' denote some chimaera of a fox and a dog.

and *orgii* easily became *orige* which with the copyist stood for a real word *aurigae.*

The greater ease of what we might call the 'intertransience' of two ideas in the circular grouping is perhaps the reason of the curious employment of abstracts in Latin which strikes as particularly strange in a language with such a love for the concrete. Such as *fontium gelidae perennitates,* Cicero, *corui deceptus stupor,* Phaedrus, in which the quality is not 'applied' to a subject, but is regarded, so to speak, as blended with it, 'The cool fountain-flows,' 'the cheated crow-fool.'

It is an axiom of classical exegesis that single Greek and Latin words must often be treated as the equivalent of a phrase, the modern mind analysing much that the ancient viewed as integrities. But this generality is apt to be neglected where its application cannot be immediately perceived. Let me first cite an example from a Latin writer in which the ancient habit has produced a variation of expression at once evident and instructive, Silius i. 627 sqq. 'sic thalami *fugit* omnis *amor dulces*que marito | *effluxere tori* et subiere *obliuia taedae*'.

In Lucan x. 184 sqq. Caesar is explaining to Acoreus, the priest of Isis, his desire to become acquainted with the mysteries of Egypt, and in particular with the solution of that scientific riddle, the origin of the Nile.

> fama quidem generi Pharias me duxit ad urbes,
> sed tamen et uestri. media inter proelia semper 185
> stellarum caelique plagis superisque uacaui. . . .
> sed cum tanta meo uiuat sub pectore *uirtus,*
> tantus *amor ueri,* nihil est quod noscere malim,
> quam fluuii causas per saecula tanta latentis 190
> ignotumque caput. spes sit mihi certa uidendi
> Niliacos fontes; bellum ciuile relinquam.

uirtus does not mean 'bellica virtus' (Sulpicius), nor 'ardour' simply (so the last translator of the *Pharsalia* into English verse); but, as the correspondence of *amor ueri* shows, '*passion for* excellence'. Weise's 'tantus vigor ad maxima quaeque vel perficienda vel cognoscenda' is for a paraphrase perfectly correct.

The modern bias is responsible for some part of the difficulty presented by a well-known crux in the *Satires* of Horace. *S.* ii. 2. 9 sqq.

> leporem sectatus equoue
> lassus ab indomito uel, si Romana fatigat 10
> militia adsuetum graecari, seu pila uelox

> molliter austerum studio fallente laborem
> seu te *discus agit*, [pete cedentem aera disco][1]
> cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
> sperne cibum uilem.

The propriety of *agit* here with *discus* has been questioned not without reason; but the doubt disappears when, following the cue given by *studio* in the previous line, we observe that *discus* is to be understood as 'studium disci'; cf. Propertius i. 13. 28 'te tuus ardor *aget*'. *discus* is, in fact, used here just as *aurum* is in Propertius iii. 5. 3

> nec tamen *inuiso* pectus mihi carpitur auro,

a line which I have quoted in full in order to remove a prevalent misunderstanding as to its meaning. *in-uidere* is 'to cast an envious eye on' a thing or person, and *inuisus* is used of that on which such a glance is cast. An envied person comes naturally to be *hated*, ἐπίφθονος; and in Latin this sense supplanted the original one in the case of persons, and was even transferred to things, to which it was etymologically inappropriate. Of these, however, the participle could be used in the old sense which Horace expresses by means of *inuidendus*, e.g. *Carm.* ii. 10. 7 'caret inuidenda | sobrius aula'. This is its meaning here, and in Ovid, *Met.* xi. 127 sqq. of the plight of Midas when his greedy prayer was granted.

> diuesque miserque
> effugere optat opes et quae modo uouerat odit.
> copia nulla famem releuat; sitis arida guttur
> urit et *inuiso* meritus torquetur ab auro.

Here 'hated' gives no sense. Midas had *not* hated gold; he had loved it only too well; and hence he was '*male optato*—circumlitus auro' (*infra* 136). What, however, he *had* done, was to cast an envious eye upon it, as the avaricious man does; and for this he is rightly tormented ('*meritus* torquetur').

Few inquirers are proof against the charms of the siren etymology, and when a captivating derivation comes into conflict with ancient authors and evidence, the ancient and the evidence must commonly retire. A now innocuous discussion of Max Müller[2] is so instructive that I must put it first in my illustrations. Varro in his work on the Latin language, vii. 73–5, in treating of the origin of *septemtrio*,[3]

[1] The words in brackets are not from Horace; but I leave them in the text as they do not affect the present question.

[2] Max Müller, *Science of Language*, 2nd Series, Lecture VIII, p. 364.

[3] The remarkable 'tmesis' of this word in Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 381) and Ovid (*Met.* i. 68) may be noted in passing.

septemtriones, the Great Bear, tells us that in his time oxen were still called *triones* by the countrymen, especially when ploughing, 'triones enim boues appellantur a bubulcis etiam nunc maxume quum arant terram.' 'If,' said Max Müller, 'we could quite depend on the fact that oxen were ever called *triones*, we might accept the explanation of Varro and should have to admit that at one time the seven stars were conceived as seven oxen. But as a matter of fact *trio* is never used in this sense, except by Varro, for the purpose of an etymology, nor are the stars ever again spoken of as seven oxen, but only as "the oxen and the shaft", *boues et temo*, a much more appropriate name.' This is said to pave the way for the acceptance of Max Müller's own derivation from *septem striones*, 'the seven stars,' on which we may follow his own example just so far as to observe that *strio*, 'a star,' is never used in this sense, except by Max Müller, for the purpose of an etymology.

In the last etymological dictionary of Latin we read '*proelium*, "Kampf, Treffen," richtiger *praelium* oder *prelium*'. This 'incorrectness' of *proelium* will seem strange to those who are aware that it is vouched for by the *Fasti Capitolini*, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the capital MSS. of Vergil, and so forth : nor will the suggestion that *prae* or *pre*, either common enough as the initial syllable of Latin words, has been here corrupted into an absolutely unique beginning *proe* appear less remarkable. But the explanation is simple. The compiler of the lexicon cannot derive *proelium* and thinks that he can derive *praelium* or *prelium*. 'I do not understand measles,' said the doctor in the well-known cynical anecdote, 'I will give the child fits and cure *them*.'

Lexicography, and, in its train, the interpretation of literature, do not escape. The lexicon of Latin used most in this country has, under *trames*, 'akin to *trans* and Gk. τέρμα, goal. I. Lit. *a cross-way, side-way, by-path, footpath.* Transf. 1. Poet., in gen., *a way, path, road, course, flight.* 2. *Branches* of a family, Gellius. II. Trop., *a way of life, way, course, method, manner*, Lucretius.[1]'

The entire presentation of this word has been perverted by etymology. *trames* does not mean a 'cross-way' or 'by-path', nor again a 'way, path in general', nor again a 'branch of a family', nor a 'way of life, or method, or manner'. It means a *path on a slope*, a narrow mountain track *or* what may be compared thereto. In all

[1] We know where all this comes from ; for if we turn to the article in Freund's lexicon we read : '*trames*, der Querweg, Seitenweg, Nebenweg . . . β) Uebertr. 1. poet., im Allgem. fur Pfad, Weg, Gang, Flug u. dgl.—2. für Abzweigung der Familie. *II. Tropisch. Weg, Methode. (Lucr.)

the passages cited it may have this reference. All, except Hor. *S.* ii. 3. 49, lose both in force and pertinence if it have it not. *Appennini tramites* Cic. *Ph.* xii. 26. *transuersis tramitibus transgressus* [1] Livy ii. 39. 3 (of a hill country, as a glance at the map will show). Prop. iii. 13. 44 'et quicumque *meo tramite* quaeris auem', a translation from the Greek of Leonidas Tarentinus, τοῦθ' ὑπὸ δισσὸν ὄρος. Of Iris's rainbow-path down the clouds, Verg. *A.* v. 610 'cito decurrit tramite uirgo'. Of the lines of a stemma or pedigree by which a man 'genus deducit', or traces his *descent.* In the passage of Lucretius, vi. 27, it is used significantly of the narrow upward way; Epicurus 'uiam monstrauit *tramite paruo* | qua possemus ad id recto contendere cursu', with which compare Pers. 3. 57 '*surgentem* dextro monstrauit limite callem'. In the simile of Hor. *S.* ii. 3. 49 the *trames* is in forests (*siluis*), but there is no reason why these forests should not be on a mountain side.[2]

There is small excuse for this blundering. Many years ago Quicherat in his *Gradus ad Parnassum* led the way towards a correct explanation, though he could not by any means shake off all the misleading associations of his 'chemin de traverse'.

Whether *trames* originally meant a 'cross-path', it is not within my present purpose to determine; suffice it to say that this sense is nowhere apparent in its usage. And it may be added that we are not limited to this supposition. It may be that *trames* is directly derived from *trama*, a synonym of *subtemen.* For such epithets of *trames* as *paruus* and *angustus* might be quite appropriately connected with the slender threads of the woof or weft; and the *trames*, winding backwards and forwards up or down the mountain-side, presented an obvious similarity to this thread in its crossing and recrossing of the vertical loom.

Archaeology and history suffer too. I will take *pomerium* as my example. The tendency of which I speak has seriously impaired the otherwise excellent investigation of Mommsen in his *Römische Forschungen*, II, p. 23 sqq. Mommsen, whose etymologizing was intuitive rather than scientific, was dominated by the theory that *pomerium* must have come from *post* and *murus* (or O.L. *pos* and *moerus*).

[1] What a passage this for the cross-path interpretation, 'having *crossed* by *cross cross-ways*'!

[2] There can be no such doubt about Prop. i. 18. 27 'pro quo †diuini fontes† et frigida rura | et datur inculto tramite dura quies', where the last German commentator writes, '*Trames* ist hier nicht der Waldpfad, sondern der Wald selbst'—two errors in as many lines. This is outdone by an English comment on iii. 22. 24 '*ab Umbro* tramite', 'from its Umbrian path,' i.e. 'from the vales of Umbria'.

'Nothing remains,' he says on p. 28, 'but to return to that explanation which etymologically is the sole one possible (welche etymologisch die allein mögliche ist),' and, lightly brushing aside the far from trivial objections to which as a derivation it is open,[1] he decides that the *pomerium* lay inside the walls. The procedure is illegitimate. For etymology is not evidence; it is inference, and, as experience shows, often most erroneous inference.

The same derivation dominated antiquity; and this must not be lost sight of when we would appraise the value of the ancient testimonies. There were two views held amongst the ancients as to what the Roman *pomerium* really *was*. Varro, *L. L.* v. 143, and Messalla, quoted by Gellius xiii. 14, are cited as witnesses that it was a strip of land running round *inside* the city walls *post muros*; Livy i. 44 as a witness that it was one *on both sides* of the city wall inside and out, *circa muros*. Now let us ask, Of two witnesses, one believing and the other disbelieving, that *pomerium* was derived from *post* and *murus*, which would be the better witness for the supposed fact, that it was actually *post murum?* Obviously the disbeliever. For on him this theory of the origin of the word could have exerted no disturbing influence. Varro, however, is a witness belonging to the former class: 'qui orbis, quod erat post murum, *postmoerium dictum.*'

Next let us turn to Livy. I will translate the Latin. He says

> '*pomerium* is explained as *postmoerium* or 'behind-wall', regard being had to the etymology alone; but it is rather *circamoerium* or 'round-wall', a space which the Etruscans, when founding cities in old times, used to consecrate with augural rites along a line, marked by a series of boundary-stones on both sides of what was to be the course of their wall, that buildings might not be erected contiguously to the walls on their inner side (nowadays these are often in actual contact) and that outside them might be ground upon which human cultivation did not encroach. This space, which it was forbidden both to plough and to occupy, was called *pomerium*, 'behind-wall,' by the Romans, not more because it was 'behind wall' as because 'wall was behind it'.

The evidential value of such a passage for the actual character of the *pomerium* is intrinsically of the highest order. For Livy, or his authority, is so dominated by the view that *pomerium* comes from *post* and *murus* that he endeavours to reconcile this with the fact that the *pomerium* was *circa muros* by an etymological explanation which, as he states it, must be admitted to be absurd.

[1] p. 25, n. 9. Of his examples of 'irregular' sound-change there quoted most would now be otherwise explained.

Messalla alone remains. What he, or rather what the 'augures populi Romani qui libros de auspiciis scripserunt', laid down is as follows:—

> pomerium est locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinatus *qui facit finem urbani auspicii.*

The last words give us the clue. When the inner ring of the *pomerium* which lay *pone muros* was crossed, the urban auspices lost their power, just as the military auspices (*bellica auspicia*) became inoperative when the general crossed its outer ring. And since the crossing of the inner ring was far more under public notice than the crossing of the outer ring, the word was used with this special application. We must therefore accept the view adopted by O. Müller, Becker, and Schwegler that the *pomerium*, in the proper sense, ran along *both* sides of the wall.[1]

It might perhaps be deemed superfluous to remind the scholars of to-day that no portion of the past can be understood unless we arrive at it by the historical path and cease to view it as something out of relation to what preceded and what ensued. Unfortunately it is not.

The Homeric Article is a well-worn theme. Its half demonstrative character and the impediments which the associations of modern languages and of later Greek throw in the way of our appreciation of its more ancient usages are familiar topics. But *quod quisque uitet, numquam homini satis cautumst in horas*, and the approaches of error are here especially insidious. Of the three stages in the history of the 'article', ὁ ἄνθρωπος, (1) *he* [i. e.] *man*; (2) *that man, ille homo*; (3) *the man, l'homme*, it is the second and third which require most careful discrimination. For their difference is rather quantitative than qualitative, and there is no half-way house on the road between them. Unless we are prepared to see in *Iliad* x. 408 πῶς δ' αἱ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φυλακαί τε καὶ εὐναί; an extravagant emphasis, we must concede to Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 261. 3, that it presents 'the defining Article of later Greek'. But in the three examples which are given at the close of the same paragraph *that* would be a less imperfect representation than *the*; *Il.* ii. 80 εἰ μέν τίς τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἔνισπε, | ψεῦδός κεν φαῖμεν, vii. 412 ὣς εἰπὼν τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνέσχεθε πᾶσι θεοῖσι (the τό calls attention to the uplifted staff), xx. 147 ὄφρα τὸ κῆτος ὑπεκπροφυγὼν ἀλέαιτο, | ὁππότε μιν σεύαιτο ἀπ'

[1] I cannot go further into the matter, but I must add that Mommsen candidly admits that the leaving of a strip of ground clear on *both* sides of the wall was a very reasonable safeguard.

ἠιόνος πεδίονδε (that sea monster, the great sea monster). And if ever there was a passage in which solemn emphasis was expressed by article or pronoun adjective, it is surely x. 330 μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος. What, again, has the article of xxiii. 75 done to be catalogued as 'quite anomalous'? The spirit of Patroclos pleads piteously to his slumbering friend, beginning εὕδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο λελασμένος ἔπλευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ, | οὐ μέν μευ ζώοντος ἀκήδεις ἀλλὰ θανόντος . . . καί μοι δὸς τὴν χεῖρ' ὀλοφύρομαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὖτις | νίσομαι ἐξ Ἀΐδαο ἐπήν με πυρὸς λελάχητε. Are we to surrender to grammatical classification the natural and pathetic touch in τὴν χεῖρα? Let a poet answer:

> And hands *so often clasp'd in mine*
> Should toss with tangle and with shells.
>
> Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, x.

Monro's exposition of the Homeric article is, however, in the main just and sober, and contrasts strikingly with the treatment to which it is subjected in a recent volume of acute and ingenious studies on the *Odyssey*. The design of the critic is to restore the pristine Homeric usage to that poem, and he effects this by the wholesale removal of articles in which he detects the trail of the modernizer. That the language of the Homeric poems has suffered, it is difficult to say how much, from being brought up to date, is hardly a matter for dispute. But the task of restoration requires great caution and much self-control, and a suspected usage must be examined, so to say, both from before and behind. There was no sudden and tropical transformation of non-articular night into articular day. Rather between the two lay a long and uncertain twilight, and even after the illumination was general, in hollows and under heights there lingered patches of pre-articular shade. This is utterly neglected in the book to which I refer. Where ὁ, ἡ, τό can be understood as unemphatic Attic articles, so understood they are, and bidden to evacuate the text for substitutes which often possess neither literary appropriateness nor palaeographical probability. What we may perhaps call the 'intermediate article'—the *the* which has lost some of its mobility but still retains its independence—naturally suffers most. *Od.* xviii. 74 οἵην ἐκ ῥακέων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει is a striking example. For it was 'probably' (note the *probably*) 'modified for the better accommodation of the article from an original: οἵην ἐν ῥακέεσσι γέρων κτλ.' Is the ὁ γέρων so otiose that it must be got rid of at such a cost? 'Yet who would have thought *the old man* to have had so much blood in him?'—*Macbeth*, Act V, Sc. 1.

Nearly every one of the articles which are attacked on the ground of their coincidence with the later unemphatic ones does more than simply define, e. g. *Od.* xi. 4 τὰ μῆλα, not 'the sheep' but '*the* (necessary) sheep' (x. 572), xx. 77 τὰς κούρας, 'the luckless maidens', xix. 535 τὸν ὄνειρον, 'the dream *I must narrate to you*', on which we are told that 'this is the only passage in the *Odyssey* in which ὄνειρος is accommodated or encumbered with the article', and the only one, we may add, in which there is purposed reference to a particular dream. A similarly crude appeal to numbers is to condemn xxi. 113 καὶ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τοῦ τόξου πειρησαίμην (Telemachus), 305 ὣς καὶ σοὶ μέγα πῆμα πιφαύσκομαι αἴ κε τὸ τόξον | ἐντανύσῃς (Antinous), 378 τὰ δὲ τόξα φέρων ἀνὰ δῶμα συβώτης | ἐν χείρεσσ' Ὀδυσῆι δαΐφρονι θῆκε παραστάς. 'The twenty-first book of the *Odyssey* has the doubtful distinction of possessing the only three examples of τόξον with the later article.'[1] But in 305 the minatory tone is clear, 'if you draw that bow!' At 113 we think of 'Le sabre de mon père'. In 378 the alteration ὁ δέ spoils the grouping of the picture, the centre of which is not the mere conveyer of the bow, but the bow itself, whose destination had just been the subject of an angry dispute; see 359 sqq., 366, 369 sqq. Places where the noun has an attribute fare no better: ii. 403 τὴν σὴν ποτιδέγμενοι ὁρμήν, 'illum tuum cursum expectantes', iii. 145 τὸν Ἀθηναίης δεινὸν χόλον, 'terribilem illam Mineruae iram', xi. 519 ἀλλ' οἷον τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενήρατο χαλκῷ, 'at qualem illum Telephiden interfecit!'

Other usages of the Homeric 'article' are assailed by means of the same statistical fallacy and without even the excuse of the modernizing scribe. On τὰ ἕκαστα (xii. 16; also 165, xiv. 375, and *Il.* xi. 706) it is observed that 'against these four we have to set twenty-five instances of ἕκαστα without article in the *Odyssey* alone'. This article is said to be 'quite needless'. Which means that the construction can dispense with it, an engine of argument that could be used to decimate the ranks of the demonstratives in many literatures. But the τά, 'needless' though it may be for the syntax, is not quite needless for the sense. ἕκαστα means 'each thing', τὰ ἕκαστα means 'those things, each one of them', and expresses at xii. 16 ἡμεῖς μὲν τὰ ἕκαστα διείπομεν the scrupulous care with which the details of the unfortunate Elpenor's funeral were carried out (*supra*, 11–15), and

[1] A similar argument is used against τήν in xviii. 380 οὐδ' ἄν μοι τὴν γαστέρ' ὀνειδίζων ἀγορεύοις, the only place where γαστήρ takes the article, because the only place where it is appropriate. It points the allusion to the still rankling insults of xvii. 228 and xviii. 364.

at 165 it impresses on the reader the particularity with which Odysseus required his crew to attend to his directions when they sailed past the dangerous coast of the Sirens (*supra*, 156–64).

Another peculiarity, treated with the same severity, is, if anomalous in Homeric, not less anomalous, to say the least, in later Greek, where its survival from the ancient times of freedom has, for example, troubled much the commentators upon Sophocles. The instances are ix. 378 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ὁ μοχλὸς ἐλάινος ἐν πυρὶ μέλλεν | ἅψεσθαι (here we are told that 'ὁ μόχλος ἐλάινος condemns itself'. This means *from the Attic standpoint*, the critic forgetting for the nonce that from his point of view ὁ ἐλάινος μοχλός is equally objectionable), xi. 492 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγαυοῦ μῦθον ἐνίσπε(ς) (bidden to make way for ἀλλ' ἄγε μ' αὐτίκα παιδός), xvii. 10 τὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον ἄγ' ἐς πόλιν ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκεῖθι | δαῖτα πτωχεύῃ (σόν is read).[1] To which we may add xxiii. 223 sq. τὴν δ' ἄτην οὐ πρόσθεν ἑῷ ἐγκάτθετο θυμῷ | λυγρήν, ἐξ ἧς πρῶτα καὶ ἡμέας ἵκετο πένθος, and from the *Iliad* i. 338 sqq. τὼ δ' αὐτὼ μάρτυροι ἔστων | πρός τε θεῶν μακάρων πρός τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων | καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος, ii. 275 ὃς τὸν λωβητῆρα ἐπεσβόλον ἔσχ' ἀγοράων (though to what extent ἐπεσβόλον is adjectival is not easy to determine), xxi. 316 sq. φημὶ γὰρ οὔτε βίην χραισμησέμεν οὔτε τι εἶδος | οὔτε τὰ τεύχεα καλά (*illa arma pulchra*).

From later Greek three examples or (omitting Theocritus xxvii. 59 for more than one reason) two examples of the possessive adjective ἐμός are generally cited, upon which we read in Gerth-Kühner, *Gr. Gramm.* ii. p. 614 'Die Beispiele für eine abweichende Stellung des Possessivums sind durch Konjektur beseitigt'. They are Sophocles, *Ajax* 572 sq.

> καὶ τἀμὰ τεύχη μήτ' ἀγωνάρχαι τινὲς
> θήσουσ' Ἀχαιοῖς μήθ' ὁ λυμεὼν ἐμός,

and Euripides, *Hippolytus* 682 sqq.

> ὦ παγκακίστη καὶ φίλων διαφθορεῦ,
> οἷ' εἰργάσω με. Ζεύς σ' ὁ γεννήτωρ ἐμὸς
> πρόρριζον ἐκτρίψειεν οὐτάσας πυρί.

There is evident likeness between these two passages. They are both spoken under the stress of strong emotion, though it is not held in both under the same control. The curse of Hippolytus, the last solemn injunction[2] of the self-doomed Ajax, clothe themselves

[1] ὁ ξεῖνος is expelled from thirteen passages, τὸν ξεῖνον from eighteen, and τῷ ξείνῳ and τοὺς ξείνους from one each. This is the faith that can remove mountains.

[2] ἐπισκήπτω (566) and the μήτ' . . θήσουσι, not to be attenuated into a mere dependent on ὅπως, but reminiscent of the use of μή in solemn utterances of a speaker's desire; cf. *Od.* x. 330 (above).

naturally in antique language. And the article in both is not the slip of a scribe but the choice of the author.

Let me digress for a moment to call attention once more to the superficiality of the criticism which has been dealt out to another archaizing appeal in this very tragedy, 835 sqq.

> καλῶ δ' ἀρωγοὺς τὰς ἀεί τε παρθένους
> ἀεί θ' ὁρώσας πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς πάθη
> σεμνὰς Ἐρινῦς τανύποδας μαθεῖν ἐμέ·
> καί σφας κακοὺς κάκιστα καὶ πανωλέθρους
> ξυναρπάσειαν ὥσπερ εἰσορῶσ' ἐμὲ 840
> αὐτοσφαγῆ πίπτοντα τὼς αὐτοσφαγεῖς
> πρὸς τῶν φιλίστων ἐκγόνων ὀλοίατο.

It is usual to reject the two or the four last lines as an interpolation. It may be admitted that the connexion in l. 840 would be improved by reading χὤσπερ, as any interpolator would most certainly have seen. But if the two lines 841–2 are forged, the forger was a criminal artist as remarkable and as unfortunate as the murderer of the little old man in the well-known story of Gaboriau. His skill has been his own undoing. 'To obtain for the curse of Ajax the utmost solemnity possible', he has made Sophocles 'clothe it in an ancient Ionic and Epic form as is shown by τώς, φιλίστων, ὀλοίατο. This effect could hardly have been obtained in any other way. Of φίλιστος, to which chief exception has been taken, it may be observed that though not found elsewhere in extant literature it is sufficiently supported by the φιλίων of the *Odyssey* and by its use as a proper name. As regards the ending -ατο, we may note that it is not without significance that tragedy confines its use to the optative, and, as my friend Prof. Ridgeway pointed out to me a good many years ago, to the optative of uncontracted verbs'.[1]

To make a conclusion, those who have liberated themselves from the thraldom of grammatical conventions and classifications, and who remember the freedom which other languages, such as those of the Romance and the Teutonic stocks,[2] use in their employment of articles,

[1] From Bréal's *Semantics*, Preface to the English edition, p lviii, note.

[2] Extirpators of the 'intermediate' or transitional article in Greek and restricters of its movements should first attack the *ille* of Latin and Romance. Beginning with the Italian article, with its fluctuations of place where an adjective is appended to a noun, its insertion or omission with proper names and so forth, they may then next consider the post-classical Latin and deal with such examples as 'occidit pater tuus uitulum *illum saginatum*', '*ille* iudex *iustus* (ὁ δίκαιος κριτής)', 'reuelabit deus brachium suum *illud* sanctum', 'gigantes nominati *illi*' (Ronsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, pp. 419 sq.), and end up with the writers of the classical literature: Juvenal, *Sat.* v. 147 sq. 'quales (sc. boletos) Claudius edit | ante *illum* uxoris (τὸν τῆς γυναικός)'; Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 37 'non usquam

also developed from demonstratives, will regard with equanimity eccentricities characteristic of a period of flux, or inherited therefrom. They will be chary of limiting the possibilities of a stage of language, in which on the one hand ἄνδρα τὸν ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθηται μακάρεσσιν, *Od.* x. 74, is found, and on the other τὸν (*eum*) τρισκαιδέκατον μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα, *Il.* x. 495, and they will take a more lenient, because a more enlightened, view of peculiarities in later Greek, such as the following[1] :—

Sophocles, *O. T.* 572 :

τὰς ἐμὰς
οὐκ ἄν ποτ' εἶπε Λαΐου διαφθοράς.
(non dixisset *illam* meam Laii caedem.)

Trach. 1249 :

τοίγαρ ποιήσω, κοὐκ ἀπώσομαι, τὸ σὸν
θεοῖσι δεικνὺς ἔργον.
(*illud* factum dis *pro tuo* ostendens.)

775 .

ὁ δ' οὐδὲν εἰδὼς δύσμορος τὸ σὸν μόνης
δώρημ' ἔλεξε.
(*illud* munus tuum solius dixit)

Euripides (?) *Fragm.* (Weil, *Papyr.*) l. 32 :

μέχρι πόσου τὴν τῆς τύχης,
πάτερ, σὺ λήψει πεῖραν ἐν τῷμῷ βίῳ ;

(quousque *istud* fortunae in uita mea facies periculum ?)

And in Euripides, *Hippolytus* 471 :

ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ πλείω χρηστὰ τῶν κακῶν ἔχεις,

it seems more respectful to Euripides to suggest that his phrase is modelled on the earlier freer pattern, 'if thou hast more good *on this side* (τά) than bad *on that* (τῶν)', *Od.* xx. 309 sq. οἶδα ἕκαστα | ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια (for which we are offered ἅττα), than that he has flown in the face of contemporary usage by writing τὰ πλείω when he should have written πλείω τά.

prorepit et *illis* utitur ante | quaesitis sapiens', ib. 115 sq. 'instat equis auriga suos uincentibus, *illum* | praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem'; Cicero, *de nat. d.* ii. 114 'hic Geminis est *ille* sub ipsis | ante Canem, Προκύων Graio qui nomine fertur'. When they have fixed this Latin fleeter, they may return to Greek.

[1] That examples like these should be judged by the Epic and not the Attic standard will not be contested by those who recall such obviously Epic arrangements as *Philoct.* 371 ὁ δ' εἶπ' Ὀδυσσεύς, *Ajax* 311 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἧστο πλεῖστον ἄφθογγος χρόνον.

To metre I must make some reference; but it shall be as brief as possible. Vol. 17 of the *Classical Review*[1] saw a controversy on the Latin Sapphic which I trust nothing that I now say will revive. The point at issue was whether in his Sapphic odes Horace wrote in the measure of Canning's *Needy knife-grinder, whither art thou going?*, or in the measure of his avowed model Sappho, or, as proposed in a compromise strongly reminiscent of the would-be wary examinee in a well-known anecdote, 'Sometimes in one and sometimes in the other'. This controversy was but a by-product of the modern pronunciation, which makes havoc of quantity and plumps an overpowering stress-accent on the syllables which by the laws of the metre should be unstressed.[2] So potent is it that, as a schoolmaster told me but a few weeks ago, even when boys have been drilled in the proper reading of the Sapphic by instruction and example, they fall back into 'needy knife-grinders' as soon as they are left to themselves. Another metre in distress is the anapaestic which is prevailingly, at least in England, read with a dactylic rhythm to the stultification of the tragic systems. Those who had the opportunity of comparing Mr. C. Platt's recitation of the parabasis of the *Birds* with the rendering of the anapaestic measures and their false musical setting in the last Greek play performed at Cambridge will not need to be told what a difference this makes. The neglect of quantity is deep-seated in our age;[3] and I doubt if there is any easy remedy when people are found to believe

[1] pp. 252 ff., 339 ff., 456 ff.

[2] No one, that I know, has ever contended that the Greek Sapphic ought to be read, even in portions, in the 'needy knife-grinder' fashion. And yet it will be found that where it can be so read, as in the ode to Aphrodite, 6, 10 ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας, 11, 18, 19, 21, also 23 (for making φίλει into *fill-eye* is a trifle), 25, 27 (eight or nine lines out of twenty-one), it is so read For in this part of the world Greek words are accented on the syllable which would bear the accent in Latin. Since now, as Mr. E. S. Thompson pointed out, *Cl. Rev.*, l. c. p. 457 *a*, a double scansion of Greek Sapphics cannot for a moment be entertained, the advocates, German and English, of the *needy knife-grinder* rhythm have to explain why it is needed to scan Horace and not needed to scan Sappho, except for the reason that they know the Greek accent was *not* a stress accent, and that they assume that the Latin was.

[3] On this I am now able to quote two sentences from a paper by Prof. J. W. White, 'On the Origin and Form of Aeolic Verse', to appear in the next *Classical Quarterly*. 'That the quantitative rhythms and metres of Greek poetry should seem complicated to men whose language is accentual is inevitable, whereas modern metres and rhythms are notoriously simple.' 'The attempt to conform Greek Lyrics to the elementary—and uncertain—rhythms of modern poetry that is merely read or recited implies a fundamental misconception of relations.'

that anapaests may appear in the last foot of an iambic line, dactyls at the end of an hexameter, and spondees and tribrachs in the 'pure iambics' of Catullus and others.

It is no business of the scientific inquirer after truth to sit in judgement on the tastes and morals of antiquity. Sympathy with his author is of some use to a student, but of none to a savant. Dispassionateness and insight are all that *he* requires. The admiration stirred in us by the greatness and splendour of an ancient monument of genius is prone to pass into a sentiment which dresses the figure of its worship in fictitious and anachronistic excellences, and resents as profanation any fact or hypothesis that would fasten upon the idol deeds, thoughts, or expressions of which the idolater personally disapproves. How strong and prevalent the sentiment is among us it is difficult to say, since its expression is generally confined to protests in unsigned reviews and private 'letters to the editor'. When the evidence opposed to it is overwhelming and admitted, it shuts its eyes or runs away; though it is up in arms on every fresh occasion. My own experience is that it is very strong indeed, and that there are but few who can be trusted to decide with equanimity certain questions affecting the private life, say, of a Sappho or a Tibullus. To the others my advice, if I might presume to offer it, would be this. If a scholar finds that one of two necessarily alternative conclusions is from its character repugnant to his feelings, this is a hint from his personality that he should leave the matter alone.

Irrelevant judgements of another kind may furnish a transition to the next division of my subject—the blinding effects of modern vanity. Those who have used a well-known French manual of Latin syntax (perhaps the best and certainly one of the best books on the subject) will have noticed, I trust not without offence, how frequently constructions in Latin authors are described as 'incorrect' or 'unclassical'. These expressions with their implications are perhaps excusable in the school classroom when addressed to a beginner in the language. But what business have they in a scientific work based 'on the principles of Historic Grammar'? and who are we that we should accuse Livy and Nepos of solecisms?

The contemplation of an *a priori* probability, real or imagined, that we are right, or less in error than our predecessors, should be excluded from all scientific inquiry. Our indulgence in this intellectual vice Prof. W. Ridgeway[1] in a passage with whose substance

[1] *The Relation of Archæology to Classical Studies*, p. 17 (=p. 53 of the *Proceedings of the Classical Association of Scotland*, 1907–8).

I am wholly in agreement ascribes to 'a pettifogging spirit of scepticism'. But in this matter I am unwilling to pass even an indirect censure upon scepticism. *νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.* A proper habit of honest doubt is the prime prerequisite of fruitful investigation. Let us distrust always and everything, but chiefly ourselves: *tecum habita: noris*—I need not finish the quotation.[1] But the spirit I mean is akin to the *φθόνος* of which Thucydides (a thinker whose intellect we are told to-day was obsessed by hovering phantoms) writes that an uninstructed hearer believes that a narrative is exaggerated *εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι* (ii. 35. 4). Put *γνῶσιν* for *φύσιν* here, and you have the vainglorious doubter exactly. It is a matter of common knowledge that seemingly irreconcilable statements may be found to be perfectly compatible when new facts have come to light. And a writer who bluntly rejects the express statement of an ancient on a matter where mistake and prejudice are unbelievable, *because* he cannot harmonize this with other statements and his own inferences therefrom, asserts, though he may not be aware of it, the universality of his own knowledge and the infallibility of his own reasoning.

It is with reluctance that I touch upon Accent once more: but the remarks of a writer in *Classical Philology* of April last year[2] are too precious to be lost. His object is to show that the Latin accent of the time of Cicero and Varro was a difference of force, and not of pitch. To establish this it was necessary to discredit or extenuate the evidence of contemporary Romans. This had been done before. But seemingly it had not occurred to any one that it would help if the testimony for the musical character of the Greek accent could be similarly disposed of. An ancient scholar and critic of note stood, however, in the way, to wit, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in a treatise *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*, composed not later than 7 B.C. His witness (from Chap. 11) I will now give in English, not in a translation by myself (for this might possibly be suspected of bias) but, wherever possible, in the rendering of the late A. J. Ellis, *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, p. 27 n.

The art of public speaking is a musical one too;[3] for it differs from that used in songs and on instruments in quantity, not in quality. For in the latter (public speaking) words have also melody, rhythm, modulation, and propriety. In speaking then also the ear is delighted with the melody, is impelled by the rhythm, and especially longs for propriety. The difference is merely one of degree.

[1] Persius, *S.* iv. 52.

[2] pp. 202-3.

[3] Μουσικὴ γάρ τις ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμη (Dionysius).

The melody of speech then (*διαλέκτου μέλος*) is measured by a single musical interval which is as nearly as possible that called a Fifth. It does not rise in pitch beyond three tones and a half nor is it depressed in pitch more than this amount. But every word which constitutes a single unit of speech[1] is not spoken at the same pitch, but one in an acute pitch, another in a grave pitch, and another in both pitches. Of those words [of one syllable] which have both pitches some have a low pitch imperceptibly blended with the high, and these we call 'circumflexed'. But others have both in different places and apart, and keep its proper nature for each. In dissyllables there is nothing interposed between high pitch and low pitch. But in polysyllabic words, of all kinds, there is but one syllable which has the high pitch among many which have the low pitch. On the other hand the music of song and of instruments uses a greater number of intervals and not only the Fifth but beginning with the Octave it performs the Fifth and the Fourth, the whole Tone and the Semitone, and, as some think, even the Quarter-tone audibly. But this (vocal and instrumental) music does not hesitate to subordinate words to the air instead of the air to the words. This is especially evident in the airs of Euripides which he has made Electra sing when speaking to the chorus in his Orestes (vv. 140–3):—

> *σῖγα σῖγα λευκὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης*
> *τιθεῖτε μὴ κτυπεῖτε*
> *ἀποπρόβατ᾽ ἐνεῖσ᾽ ἀπόπροθι κοίτας.*

In these lines the words *σῖγα σῖγα λευκόν* are set to a single note although each of the three words has both high and low pitches, and the word *ἀρβύλης* has the third syllable of the same pitch as the second, though it is impossible that one word should have two high pitches. In the word *τιθεῖτε* although the first syllable is made lower, the two that follow have both the same high pitch. The circumflex has vanished from *κτυπεῖτε*; for the two (last?) syllables are spoken at the same pitch. And *ἀποπρόβατ᾽* does not receive the acute accent belonging to its middle syllable, but the pitch of the third has descended to the fourth syllable. Rhythms are treated in the same manner. For prose neither forces nor interchanges the length of any noun or verb but preserves short and long syllables, as it has received them by nature. Yet rhythmical and musical art change them, shortening and lengthening, till they are often reversed, for they do not rectify the time by the syllables but the syllables by the times.'

So far is the writer to whom I have referred from recognizing, with the accomplished English phonetician, 'the great value and

[1] *οὐ μὴν ἅπασά γ᾽ ἡ λέξις ἡ καθ᾽ ἓν μόριον λόγου ταττομένη ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς λέγεται τάσεως, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀξείας ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς βαρείας ἡ δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοῖν· τῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τάσεις ἐχουσῶν αἱ μὲν κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν συνεφθαρμένον ἔχουσι τῷ ὀξεῖ τὸ βαρὺ ἃς δὴ περισπωμένας καλοῦμεν, αἱ δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τε καὶ ἑτέρῳ χωρὶς ἑκάτερον, ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν οἰκείαν φυλάττον φύσιν. καὶ ταῖς μὲν δισυλλάβοις οὐδὲν τὸ διὰ μέσου χωρίον βαρύτητός τε καὶ ὀξύτητος κ.τ ἕ.*

importance of this passage, *its explicit identification of Greek accent with pitch, and its clear assertion of the strict observance of quantity in prose*,' that he comments upon it in the following strain:[1]

> If Greek was in the third of these phases when Dionysius lived (and Kretschmer's and Mayser's examples [of the confusion of long and short vowels in papyri] seem to prove that stress was not sporadic, but regular), the accent would be such as *a modern phonetician* would describe as predominantly stress. But the accented syllable, being *usually* uttered at a higher pitch than its neighbors, might *conceivably* appear to a man *learned in the theory of earlier days* as distinguished from the unaccented one by the difference in pitch alone. Moreover, we must not forget that Dionysius is not here discussing accent, *qua* accent,[2] but the μέλος of speech, which he contrasts with the μέλος of song and instrumental music. To reconcile his words with the supposition that the accent of his day was a stress (among the educated as with the masses), we are *compelled to discredit his statement only so far* as to regard him as mistaken in thinking that pitch-elevation was invariably present in the accent. It would seem, therefore, that *there is no adequate reason for assuming* that the educated Greeks, with whom Cicero and Varro conversed, used an accent materially different from that of the people who wrote the papyri.

If this is the treatment to which ancient evidence of the authority and the precision of the one before us is to be subjected, better give up the study of antiquity altogether.

I pass to my second subdivision: the neglect of ancient testimony when it is in conflict with the results or the inferences of modern research. The motive here is the same. Suppose that by our labours in collating, comparing, or deciphering classic MSS. or papyri we have ascertained that a particular reading is supported by the line of tradition, whereas an ancient author bears witness expressly, or by implication, to something different, which testimony is likely to go to the wall?

Ask the editors of the Fourth Eclogue of Vergil, l. 62. Here *the only lection which can be shown to have existed in classical times appears in hardly a single modern text*,[3] either with or without an obelus, while a corruption, the origin of which is obvious to a tiro in textual criticism, usurps its place. The poem ends thus in MSS.:

> cui non risere parentes
> nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est.

[1] I put in italics phrases which are characteristically modern.

[2] This means that Dionysius had not before him the confusion of stress and pitch inextricably and disastrously imbedded in the modern term accent.

[3] One is Mr. F. A. Hirtzel's in the Oxford series of texts.

Quintilian, a better witness than fifty capital and uncial MSS., records *qui*, and records nothing else. For him the dative did not exist, and if we would give the facts as they are our critical note should run as follows.

> *qui* Quintilianus, *cui* nescio quis post Quintilianum et codices qui nunc extant omnes.

But lest the collators and comparers of Vergilian codices should have laboured in vain, *cui* must be pushed up first into a seat contiguous to *qui*, and then to one in front of it. A quotation from a well-known modern commentary will show how this may be done:

> A remarkable various reading of v. 62 is preserved by Quintilian (ix. 3) . . . We must suppose then with Voss that Quint. found 'quoi' in his copy, and read it 'qui' rather than 'cui'.

We are staggered at the outset by the description of what we should naturally have considered a gross blunder of Quintilian as the 'preservation' of a reading. But this is a trifle. According to the commentator *cui* or *quoi* was the genuine reading, was also that current in the age of Quintilian, and stood, moreover, in the grammarian's own text of Vergil. But so unfortunate was this eminent scholar and teacher ('uagae moderator summe iuuentae' is what his friend Martial calls him) that every time he read the conclusion of this most notable writing of Vergil, his eyes were closed to the *o* which stood in his copy between the *u* and the *i*, that neither the conversation of his friends nor the instruction of his pupils (*so viel gelehrt und so wenig gelernt!*), to all of whom the reading which he ignores was perfectly familiar, ever succeeded in opening them, and finally that he selected this hallucination of his own to provide from the works of the master an example of a grammatical anomaly. Let the Quintilians of our day, who thus deal with the evidence of a perhaps not less illustrious predecessor, reflect what treatment may be justly theirs at the hands of the Quintilians of posterity.

As I have discussed this passage elsewhere, *Classical Review*, xvi. (1902), 36 sq., I content myself with transcribing the words of Quintilian, 'est figura et in numero; uel cum singulari pluralis subiungitur: *gladio pugnacissima gens Romani*; uel ex diuerso: *qui* (*cui* the MSS.) *non risere parentes nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est*; ex illis enim *qui non risere*, hic quem *non dignata*,' and noting, as a further example of the *hinc* which I there proposed to restore for *hunc* in l. 63, Hor. *S.* ii. 1. 79 '*nihil hinc* diffingere possum', that is *nihil*

horum or *ex his*: for *hinc* has no construction either with *diffingere* or with the variant *diffindere*.[1]

Here, so far as we know, the corruption which modern texts present did not exist in the classical age. In the next instance it did, and was duly noted by a professional scholar.

Catullus, xxvii. 3–4, are thus given by Aulus Gellius, *N. A.* vi. 20. 6:

> ut lex Postumiae iubet magistrae
> *ebria acina* ebriosioris,

where editors have *ebrioso acino* or *ebriosa acina*.

A modern German comments as follows:

> Demnach[2] wollte Gellius thörichterweise *ebriā ăcina* gelesen wissen.

On the *thörichterweise* something will be said anon. At present I would draw attention to the misrepresentation of the facts. Gellius did not merely 'wish to read *ebria acina*': he *found* this reading in a copy or copies which he regarded as trustworthy. *ebrioso* and *ebriosa* were extant in other copies which he stigmatized as corrupt. Here are his words, quoted also by the commentator in part:

> Qui *ebriosa* autem Catullum dixisse putant aut *ebrioso* (nam id quoque temere scriptum inuenitur) in libros scilicet de corruptis exemplaribus factos inciderunt.

Of the two readings which Gellius preferred, one, *acina* to wit, is accepted from him by a number of scholars who reject the rest of his witness. But I will continue to confine myself to the commentator whose treatment of the evidence is at least consistent. His idea of *ebrius* and *ebriosus* is that they are two synonyms, and thus that we are free to choose the one which abolishes the hiatus and preserves the credit of the manuscripts. This I gather from the otherwise

[1] Mr. Warde Fowler, who has recently republished his study on the Fourth Eclogue in *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (1907), pp. 49–85, accepts, I am glad to see, Quintilian's *qui*, though he retains the *hunc* of the Vulgate. He observes that he cannot follow me in my account of Quintilian's words, 'ex illis . . . dignata.' But unless he means that '*ex illis qui* etc. *hic* quem non dignata' expresses that the *word hunc* (singular) is 'grammatically' dependent or 'follows grammatically' upon the plural *qui* etc., I can see no difference between our two accounts, and if he does, the main question, how Quintilian understood the passage, is left untouched. With regard to *hunc* v. *hinc*, I must correct his statement that I 'contend that Quintilian's copy of Vergil was a bad one', which may mislead the unwary. What I said was that 'the *text* of Vergil, *as vouched for by this witness of the end of the first century* A. D. (i. e. Quintilian), was corrupt'. This means that the corruption *hunc* was then *part of the current text*.

[2] 'Accordingly': because Gellius had shown that he was acquainted with passages of Homer where hiatus occurred between repeated vowels.

quite superfluous annotation '*ebriosus* steht bei Cic. und Sen., *ebrius* in Prosa und Poesie'.

The 'foolish' Gellius knew better. He knew, as Seneca says, *Ep.* lxxxiii. 11, 'plurimum interesse inter *ebrium* et *ebriosum*', that a 'grape' which is 'mero plena' [1] may well be said by a metaphor to be 'tipsy', but hardly a 'toper', and that, although the comparative and the positive of the same adjective are often combined in Catullus,[2] this is not done when the combination is absurd. And, if we had him here to ask, he would answer, I fancy, that he understood the poet to mean that Postumia was 'more fond of her liquor' (*ebriosior*) than the 'ever-tipsy' grape (*ebria*). Whether the wine which intoxicates the grape is the juice within the grape-skin, or whether, as we may perhaps suppose, there is an allusion to the practice mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* xiv. 17 'conduntur et musto uuae ipsaeque uino suo inebriantur' is for the present purpose a matter of no importance.[3]

The conception of the grape as, so to say, a tiny skinful of wine recalls to me a much disputed passage in Theocritus, the situation in which I have never seen properly explained. In *Id.* i. 45 sqq. we have a charming scene, illustrating the *insouciance* of boyhood, as carved on a *βαθὺ κισσύβιον* (27).

> *τυτθὸν δ' ὅσσον ἄπωθεν ἁλιτρύτοιο γέροντος*
> *πυρναίαις σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἀλωά,*
> *τὰν ὀλίγος τις κῶρος ἐφ' αἱμασιαῖσι φυλάσσει*
> *ἥμενος· ἀμφὶ δέ νιν δύ' ἀλώπεκες ἃ μὲν ἀν' ὄρχως*
> *φοιτῇ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον ἃ δ' ἐπὶ πήρᾳ*
> *πάντα δόλον κεύθοισα τὸ παιδίον οὐ πρὶν ἀνησεῖν* 50
> *φατὶ πρὶν ἢ ἀκράτιστον ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίξῃ.*
> *αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἀνθερίκοισι καλὰν πλέκει ἀκριδοθήραν*
> *σχοίνῳ ἐφαρμόσδων· μέλεται δέ οἱ οὔτε τι πήρας*
> *οὔτε φυτῶν τοσσῆνον ὅσον περὶ πλέγματι γαθεῖ.*

The boy, who has been set to watch the vineyard, neglects his task for the more congenial occupation of plaiting a locust-trap, and,

[1] Cf. Ov. *A. A.* ii. 316 'plenaque purpureo subrubet uua mero'. So *uinum* of the juice in the grape; Plaut. *Trin.* 525 '*uinum* priu' quam coctumst *pendet* putidum.'

[2] 'Hat C(atullus) solche Wendungen zwar ofter, z. B. 9, 10 *beatiorum beatius*, 22, 14 *infaceto infacetior*', etc.

[3] This was written before the last German commentary (G. Friedrich, 1908) came into my hands. It is a relief to read there 'Man sieht sofort, welches Beiwort der Weinbeere zukommt; ihrer Natur nach kann sie nur einmal voll sein, aber das Gewohnheitsmassige ist ganz undenkbar. *ebriosa acina* ist eine contradictio in adiecto.'

absorbed in this, fails to notice the two foxes, the one ravaging the vines, and the other making an inroad on the grapes which are to save his ἀκρατισμός[1] from being a mere ξηροφαγία. (Athenaeus of a make of bread which could be eaten alone, ἔσται—εὔβρωτος πρὸς ξηροφαγίαν, 113 B; ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι shows a use of ἐπί c. dative of viands which we know from Aristophanes, *Ach.* 835, *Pax* 123 and elsewhere). Compare the menu of the vegetarian Valerius Cato as given by Bibaculus ap. Suet. *de grammaticis* 11:

> quem tres cauliculi, selibra farris,
> *racemi duo* tegula sub una
> ad summam prope nutriant senectam.

In conclusion I give verbatim a recent critical comment on Terence, *Phormio* 330, as the spirit of much modern editing could hardly be better expressed:

> *tennitur* is due to Donatus. MSS. *tenditur* . . . It would seem a matter of questionable propriety to set aside the testimony of the MSS. for the opinion of a single grammarian.

In this discrediting of ancient witnesses two faults of method may be detected. *First*, the intrinsic character of the rejected testimony is disregarded. Mommsen, with others in his wake, poured scorn on the saying, traditionally attributed to Appius Claudius, that in the articulation of Zeta the teeth of the living were bared like those of the dead. The five varieties of Greek accents which Varro tells us Glaucus of Samos distinguished are dismissed as the refinements of a musician or the figments of a grammarian. But the Appian pronunciation of Z is found to be otherwise attested;[2] and the five accents of Glaucus correspond surprisingly with accentual varieties recognized by the most recent phonetic science.[3] What is most reprehensible here is not the rejection of the testimony, but the failure of its rejectors to discern the marks of genuineness which it bore upon its face.

Secondly, exaggerated stress is laid upon unessential inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Who has not noticed the conflicting numbers of killed and injured which the bills of different newspapers put out after some mining or other accident? If modern and ancient witnesses are to be treated alike, why do we not now exclaim 'look at the numerical discrepancies! was there any accident at all?'

[1] It is clear that ἀκράτιστον must contain or conceal an allusion to the custom of taking an early snack consisting of bread sopped in wine ἄκρᾱτον, though the right reading here remains uncertain.

[2] *Classical Review*, xv (1901), pp. 218 sqq.

[3] *Classical Review*, xix (1905), pp. 365 sqq.

The true, the fair, and the scientific course is to reject the evidence to the exact extent that it is vitiated by proved inaccuracies. The whole, if the errors are fundamental: otherwise only the part affected. The professional scholars and the grammarians of the present day are ever ready with accusations against the grammarians of Greece and Rome. The Latin grammarian in particular is a favourite mark. It is assumed, wherever convenient, either that parrot-like he has repeated a predecessor, or that he has applied to Latin what is true only of Greek. There is less truth, I think, in those reproaches than is generally assumed, and by champions of the ancients a damaging *uos quoque* might not unseldom be retorted upon the heedless modern assailants. But the charges should anyhow be limited to the specific issues, and not enlarged to foment a general prejudice.

The classical grammarians were unacquainted with the part which the vocal chords play in modifying consonantal sound, and consequently to that extent they fail to express correctly the differences which they heard in the speech around them. They did not understand why a breathed *r* sounded differently from a voiced *r*. They heard the breath in, say, ῥήτωρ, as contrasted with εἴρηται, but they could not analyse it. And Varro's discussion of the question whether one should write *r* or *hr* or *rh* is not 'grounded on grammatical theories',[1] but is a humble groping after the truth. An exact parallel is the double writing of the English breathed *w* by *hw* and *wh*. When this division of 'voiced' and 'breathed' was crossed by the further difference of strong and weak consonantal articulation, or of *fortes* and *lenes* (as Sievers, their discoverer, called the varieties), their perplexity was increased. But here, too, it is not difficult to interpret. Dionysius tells us that the only difference between κτπ, γδβ, and χθφ is that κ, etc., are pronounced ψιλῶς, χ, etc., δασέως, γ, etc., μετρίως καὶ μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν. Put into modern terms, this means that κτπ were breathed *lenes*, χθφ breathed *fortes*,[2] and γδβ voiced *fortes*. Now breathed *lenes* and voiced *fortes* appear to be a somewhat unusual combination, for the good reason that the approximation of the tense vocal chords which is necessary for the production of 'voice' tends naturally to moderate the force with which the air is expelled from the lungs. Yet the grammarian's account is confirmed by two circumstances which have not received a due attention. The first is the not unfrequent, and at first sight astonishing, representation of Greek

[1] As Blass, *Gk. Pron.* (p. 90, n. 1), says.

[2] Every one knows that, if a breathed sound is strongly articulated before a vowel, a breath or *h* creeps in.

breathed *lenes k*, *t*, and *p* (and especially *k* [1]) by the Latin voiced *lenes g*, *d*, *b* respectively, instead of by the Latin breathed *fortes*. The second is the otherwise remarkable phenomenon that the mediae γβδ, *like* the aspirates χθφ, but *unlike* the tenues κτπ, passed to fricatives (open consonants) in later Greek.

Of the harm done in the province of history and archaeology Professor Ridgeway, in the address already referred to, has given some noteworthy illustrations. I will add two that have come under my own notice recently. An attempt has been made to apply the fashionable method of historical probability to the names of the generals in the traditional account of the Samnite Wars. These are alleged to be fictitious on the ground of their 'suspicious agreement' with the names of commanders in the Social War. The theory is refuted by Professor Gaetano di Sanctis in the *Rivista di Filologia* for July, 1908, pp. 353 sqq. Again, it has been customary to call Plutarch's words Φήμης καὶ Κληδόνος ἱερόν (*Camillus* 30, and *de Fortuna Rom.* 5) a blundering appellation of the shrine of Aius Locutius, to which it unquestionably refers. But it would appear from the indications furnished by a recently collated MS. of Juvenal (i. 115) that in the time of Plutarch this shrine was popularly associated with *Fama*.[2]

If the statements of ancient witnesses are set aside, need we wonder that they are also read with inattention? To modern ears there is doubtless a certain unpleasantness in the occurrence of the same word or of the same syllable close together. Many ears are offended by Vergil's 'Dor*ica ca*stra' *Aen.* ii. 27 and 'Acha*ica ca*stra' ib. 462, and the time and trouble of even competent scholars has been expended in collecting these and similar passages with a view to a supposed canon of Quintilian (ix. 4. 4) thought to enounce the same aesthetic principle.[3] The carelessness of this proceeding is superb. Quintilian says that the final *syllablES* of a preceding word should not be the same as the initial oneS of the following: 'uidendum est ne syllabae uerbi prioris ultimae sint primae sequentis'; and his examples are 'in*uisae uisae*' and the famous 'O fortu*natam natam* me consule Romam.'[4] Servius, it is true, reprehends *Aen.* ii. 27 for 'mala

[1] This is just what we should expect. For the earlier the consonantal check is applied to the stream of outrushing air, the more noticeable is the difference between a *lenis* and a *fortis*.

[2] See now *Classical Quarterly*, iii. (1909), pp. 66 sqq.

[3] *American Journal of Philology*, xxiv. 451.

[4] Professor Mayor, on Juvenal x. 122, understands Quintilian correctly, of course; but most of the examples which he produces of the objectionable repetitions are not strictly in point. The sounds of e. g. 'mōles mŏlestiarum,' *De Or.* i, § 2,

compositio', but Servius may have understood the remark of Quintilian no better than some moderns, or, again like them, may have applied his own principles of euphony to the Latin of the past.

Studies in which are so many pitfalls as in ours must allow no openings to error. In the difficult task of estimating and realizing antiquity there is no aid with which we can dispense. My scientific friends have sometimes remarked to me on the classical man's inattention to details. The minute care and circumspection which they expect from work in their own department they allege, and I fear with justice, is too often absent from classical investigations. The aesthetic and literary exponents of classics are to blame for much of this. Because they want broad effects, the picture as a whole, so they say, they stigmatize as pedantic the tracing of fine distinctions and the pursuit of small details. This view is a false one. For the picture is injured if its parts are blurred, and it is no pedantry to wish to know.

Sometimes this indifference to consequences produces only practical inconvenience. Index-makers, and the writers of specialistic treatises, are entitled to use any abbreviations that will lighten their labours and save their space. But that does not justify the writer of books or works intended for the general classical reader in lettering the books of Homer or numbering the speeches of Demosthenes. What the eighteenth *Iliad* and the *De Corona* oration are about is known to everybody. But to how many are they not disguised when they are cited as Σ and *Or.* 18?

These abbreviations are not merely a nuisance to the general reader; but they may produce error of a kind which is very difficult to track. A writer's or a printer's mistake in a single sign may make an important reference entirely useless. Monro, whose avoidance of the citation by letter is what we expect from his usual good sense, has himself fallen a victim to the practice. In his *Homeric Grammar*[2], § 270*, he writes of clauses in Indirect Discourse, after verbs of *saying*. 'Of these, again, only three are in the *Iliad* (16. 131, 17. 654, 22. 439).' But *Iliad* 16. 131 is no example though *Odyssey* 16. 131 is. The mistake has come from some confusion of π and Π. The third example from the *Iliad* may be 1. 109.

Another practice of thoughtlessness, or (should we rather say with Mr. Housman, l. c., below, ?) of vanity, is the wanton alteration of the

are not identical; and intentional jingles like Ter. *Eun.* 236 'pannis annisque' must also be excluded from the count.

signs by which classical MSS. have been denoted by their discoverers. This tampering with the record is a very common offence, and one deserving of the pillory upon each occasion.[1] I have only noticed one instance in which there was a gain in such a change of symbols for MSS. This was Brieger's substitution of O (=Oblongus) and Q (= Quadratus) for the A and B which Munro had used to denote the two chief MSS. of Lucretius. The gain was slight, and provides no excuse for altering the O which symbolizes a codex of Silius to Q because the name of our college and our manuscript also begins with a Q.[2]

I pass to cases where something more is involved than mere inconvenience to ourselves. Who was the first to fly into the face of all contemporary ancient testimony and misname the battle of Palaepharsalus or Pharsalia, I do not know. But from Drumann onwards the flaring torch of ignorance and unreason has been passed along the line of our historians.[3] This battle had no connexion with the town of Pharsalus, with which we have been forced to associate it. It was fought in the open country in the district of Pharsalia near a ruined or insignificant hamlet, the site of which has yet to be discovered.[4] I am glad to find that some one has at last been found to break with the modern fashion and to call the battle-field by a name which belongs to it.[5] But I regret somewhat that Dr. Rice Holmes's choice did not fall on *Pharsalia* rather than upon *Old Pharsalus*. For with habit and sloth arrayed against it *Old Pharsalus* or *Palaepharsalus* has small chance of ousting *Pharsalus*.[6]

We have seen that it is one of the chief failings of modern research to neglect evidence, however explicit, which has not come down to us

[1] For examples see *Classical Review*, xiii. 59 *a* : 'X Y (of Caesar's *Bellum Ciuile*, here re-christened D and Z, with the disregard of convenience general among foreign scholars),' ib. xx. p. 349 *b*, *The Apparatus Criticus of the Culex*, by A. E. Housman, in *The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, vol. vi, p. 13.

[2] *Classical Review*, xiii. 127 *a*, note. [I am glad now to be able to quote a well considered utterance by Dr. Kenyon in 'The Numeration of New Testament Manuscripts', *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1909, p. 86. 'The symbols ℵ A B C D and many more have acquired a definite connotation which pervades the work of textual critics since textual criticism rose to importance. It is no light thing for a scholar to claim the right to abolish all of these and to make the writings of his predecessors unintelligible to coming generations.']

[3] Signor Ferrero is an exception.

[4] See *Classical Review*, xix. pp. 257 sqq.

[5] *Classical Quarterly*, Oct., 1908.

[6] Things have reached such a pass that Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser are rebuked for their resistance to the fashion in the following terms : 'Tastes cannot be allowed to differ about "the battle of Pharsalia" which occurs *passim*', *Classical Review*, ix. p. 44 *a*.

by the direct line of transmission. A striking example of this is to be found in what some may consider the unimportant province of Latin spelling.

If we were asked why we have surrendered such spellings of a former generation as *foemina*, *sylva*, *lachryma*, *bacca*, the answer would be, I suppose: to put in their places spellings which are either known to have been those of classical usage, or, at least, are not known to conflict with that usage. In other words our aim is to restore the contemporary spellings in so far as this can be done with certainty or at least a fair approach thereto. This was the only intelligible reason for the reforms in Latin orthography which we associate especially with the name of Lachmann. Our goal (whether we attain it or not) is, I repeat, the contemporary spelling, and this is the sole justification for the change. To take a parallel from English, there may be some excuse for printing Chaucer in the spelling of the twentieth century: there is none for printing it in that of the sixteenth.

Now there is no fact in the history of the Latin alphabet better established or more universally admitted than that the pre-Ciceronian orthography differed from the later, or let us say the Augustan one, in important details. *Y* and *Z* were no part of the alphabet, *V* being commonly employed for the first, and *S* or *SS* for the second; *H* was not employed after a consonant, consequently *C*, *P*, *T*, *R* appear as representatives of the Greek aspirated mutes and the breathed P.[1] *This was beyond all question the spelling of Plautus and Ennius.*

What then is the practice of editors of the older Latin authors as regards these clear and definite points? Little better than a tissue of inconsistencies. In Lucian Mueller's edition of the Fragments of Ennius's *Annales*, fragment IV d (*a*) of Book VI, l. 180 is 'numini *Py*rrus, uti memorant, a stirpe suprema'; the next fragment V (β)* is a quotation from Cic. *Or.* 160 '*Bu*rrum semper Ennius, numquam Pyrrhum—ipsius antiqui declarant libri'. The editors give *r*, not *rh*, because it happens to be in the MSS. of Nonius, but there is no reason

[1] It might be thought that we ought to add to these differences the non-gemination of doubled consonants in writing. But for the present I exclude their consideration on two grounds. In the first place the exact date of the introduction into literary writing of the doubling, assigned with probability to Ennius, is uncertain. In such matters inscriptions lag behind the custom of the people, and we cannot be sure that Plautus did not adopt the improvement in his later plays. And in the second place, so far as I know, the change was purely graphical, or, in other words, the Roman syllabification in the case of doubled consonantal sounds was the same before and after the innovation in spelling. If the contrary could be shown, the matter would wear an entirely different aspect.

for believing that any one ever wrote *Pyrrus* in classical times; *Burrus* was the ancient form, *Pyrrhus* the modern; *Pyrrus* is a bastard of the copyists. So in a standard text of Plautus we find *zona* appearing at *Truc.* 954, 955, *Merc.* 925, but *sonam* at *Poen.* 1008. In another edition we find *sonarius* at *Aul.* 516 but *zonarius* at *Truc.* 862, and, to take a commoner word, we are presented with *Syri* at *Bacch.* 649, *Surus* at *Pseud.* 636 sq., *Syrum* at *Stich.* 433, *Suras* at *Truc.* 541, *Syra* at *Merc.* 415. What is the explanation of such vagaries? It is that the aim of the editors is not to edit Ennius or Plautus but to edit the tradition of Ennius and Plautus; and that consequently their eyes are not fixed upon the evidence for the text but on the evidence for part of that evidence, and Cicero, like other ancients, counts for nothing unless the mediaeval copyists agree.[1]

But it may be said, correctness, incorrectness, partial correctness—after all, what difference do they make in a matter of this kind? Why are we to be troubled with this pedantic trifling? I propose then to show in some detail that they do make a difference.

I begin with an illustration which lies outside the region in dispute. In *Poen.* 728–9 Plautus is jesting on the ambiguity of *pultem*, the subjunctive of *pulto*, and *pultem*, the accusative of *puls*.

> AGORASTOCLES. quid si recenti re aedis pultem? ADVOCATI. censeo.
> AG. si pultem non recludat? ADV. panem frangito.

Write *pultem* in the Augustan form *pulsem*, and the passage is meaningless.

Even with *pultem* I fear that many find it unmeaning, and this obliges me to do something for it by way of correction, interpretation, and even defence. Syntax requires the change of 'recludet' to 'recludat', which I have given in the text. Geppert proposed '*et* non recludet?' But this, though making sense, abolishes the pun, which demands that there should be *asyndeton* between *pultem* (understood as verb) and *recludat*. The verse has been rejected; but there is none more genuine in the whole of Plautus. In its opposition of *puls* and *panis* we see the national dish of the ancient Romans

[1] It is not my design to set out these agreements, though I do not think them unimportant. But as I have mentioned *sona*, I will indicate in which of the passages cited it has MS. support. They are *Poen.* 1008 *s*onam *A*, onam *B*, erasure before the *o*. *Merc.* 925 sonam *codd.* *Truc.* 955 sona is indicated in the corruptions of the MSS. where Ussing restores, 'nunc meo*s* nego (non ego)', 'non cum zona ego'. *Aul.* 516 semul sonarii (Leo), semisonarii *codd.*—A larger number than we should have expected to escape through the copying and correcting of so many centuries.

contrasted with the Greek staple of diet which was ultimately to supplant it. See Val. Maximus ii. 5. 5 'erant adeo continentiae adtenti ut frequentior apud eos *pultis* usus quam *panis* esset', Pliny, *N. H.* xviii. 83 '*pulte* autem, non *pane* uixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum'. Cf. Aus. *Technopaegn.* 618 and Juv. xiv. 171 with Mayor's note.[1] The native domestic porridge had no chance against the professional bakery and confectionery of Greece where *puls* was a dish unknown (Pliny, *lib. cit.* 107). Compare the complaint of Persius about 'these foreign fashions', 'et Bestius urguet | doctores *Graios*. "ita fit postquam sapere urbi | cum pipere et palmis uenit nostrum hoc maris expers, | faenisecae crasso *uitiarunt* unguine *pultes*".'[2] This contrasted pair Plautus here twists into an implement for suggesting that if the door is not opened, it is to be broken down. I despair of reproducing his artifice; but I offer as an approximating paraphrase the following. AGORASTOCLES. 'What if he won't let me walk in-to the groats?' WITNESSES. 'Then break into the roll!'

The same word *puls* may introduce our first example of misspelt Plautine borrowings. This one happens to be the hybrid compound in *Mostellaria* 828.

> TRANIO. non enim haec *pultipagus* opifex opera fecit barbarus.
> uiden' coagmenta in foribus? THEOPR. uideo. TRAN. specta quam arte dormiunt.
> THEOPR. dormiunt? TRAN. illud quidem, ut coniuent, uolui dicere.

Here the MSS. give *pultifagus*, and the editors *pulti*ph*agus*, neither the spelling of Plautus, any more than *pulto*ph*agonides* in *Poen.* Prol. 54. The primal sense is: 'This is not the crude work of our porridge-eating natives, but that of artists of Greece.' But there is a subsidiary jest on *pultare* and *pag-*, which is to recall *pango*, *pactum*, *compages*, *antepagmentum*, etc., and summon up the image of the 'hammer and nail it' artisans whom we all of us know so well.

May I add here that *Pagus*, as the MSS. give it, and not *Phagus*, is the true name of a lost comedy of Plautus?

On *Bacchides* 362:—

> credo hercle adueniens nomen mutabit mihi
> facietque extemplo Crucisalum me ex Chrysalo.

Mr. Lindsay, printing as above, says very rightly '*pronuntiandum* ex

[1] Had Rome been a pauperized mob of sightseers in those days, its cry would have been for *pultem et Circenses*

[2] *S.* vi. 37 sqq.

Crusalo'. The note is necessary with the vulgate, superfluous with the Plautine spelling.

One of the most characteristic features of Plautus's style is his love of alliteration. This is often lost if the Augustan spellings are adopted. In the same comedy the same name *Crusalus* is used in this alliterative play in which *c*, *r*, and *u* take part.[1]

683. hunc suspicabar propter *cr*imen, *Cr*usale,
mi male *c*onsuluisse.

687. istoc dicto †dedisse† hodie in *cru*ciatum *Cru*salum;
nam ubi me aspiciet, ad *c*arnificem rapiet *c*ontinuo senex.

691. nunc hoc tibi *cur*andumst, *Cru*sale.

922. numquam edepol quicquam temere *cr*edam *Cr*usale.

and after the interval of a line

aequomst tabellis *c*onsignatis *cr*edere.

In 129 Pistoclerus trifles thus with his old tutor's name *Ludus*= *Lydus*:—

non omnis aetas, *Lud*e, *lud*o conuenit;

and in 138 the same jest or jingle is repeated:—

P. tace atque sequere, Lude, me.
L. illuc sis, uide;
non *paedagogum* iam me, sed *lud*um uocat.

(With the writing *Lydum* the jest, such as it is, is incomprehensible.)

In 416 there is alliteration with *lubido*, and I have a shrewd suspicion that when Plautus wrote in 467

quid sodalem meum castigas, Lude, discipulum tuom?

he was thinking, as in 138, of *ludus* in the sense of 'school'.

Another name, *Archidemides*, is turned to account in 284:—

cum mi ipsum nomen eiius Arcidemides
clamaret dempturum esse si quid crederem.

The play upon *demo* every one sees, but that upon *arca*, which is pointed to in *si quid crederem*, is missed. For *arca* in this connexion see line 943 of the drama 'hic equos non in arcem uerum in *arcam* faciet impetum'

[1] In our pronunciation, it is true, one of these alliterations is not lost. But that is because we mispronounce the Latin *ch*. The Romans of the classical period did not reform their transliteration of the Greek X simply to have the satisfaction of writing a silent *h*.

In *Captiui* 274 it is the name of Plautus's type of a philosopher that is jested on. To talk of buying *Th*ales for a talent is pointless, if any verbal play was intended, but Plautus wrote

> eugepae! *Talem talen*to non emam Milesium,

and this the MSS. attest, though no editor gives it, and some ignore the pun.

The representation of Θ by *t* will excuse or explain the frequency of *At(h)enae Atticae*, otherwise as useless a piece of verbiage as 'London in England' would be. The difference in sound between *ad* and *at* was very slight. Hence in *Epidicus* 20 sqq., the noticeable repetition of compounds, *ad*uentu *ad*portas (atportas *A*) 21, *at*tulisti 23, may be mocking echoes of *at*letice in 20.

In *Men.* 294–5 *Culindrus* must be written with Heinsius, as 295 with its punning reference to *culleus* (coriaceus) shows :—

> sei tu Culindrus seu Coriendru's, perieris.

In 854 of the same play,

> barbatum tremulum Titanum qui cluet Cucino (Ritschl) patre,

Menaechmus's pretended madness may have disorganized his mythology, and so perhaps we should keep the MS. as Lindsay does. But the change to *Titonum*, which the editors turn into *Tithonum*, is a very slight one.

In the obscure passage *Poen.* 689 sqq. Mr. Lindsay's later suggestion (*Class. Rev.*, x. 333) seems to be the best yet proposed. He supposes a play on μύσχος and *musca.* Lycus (the pandar), addressing his supposed victim Collybiscus, says

> ita illi dixerunt quei hinc a me abierunt modo,
> te quaeritare a muscis,

who replies,

> minime gentium.

And to Lycus's 'quid ita?' rejoins

> quia a muscis si mi hospitium quaererem,
> adueniens irem in carcerem recta uia.

With *muscis* (= μύσχοις) the pun is perfect. It is only injured by changing the MS. reading to *muschis*.

I have given the pandar's name as *Lycus*, with the editors; but that Plautus wrote and pronounced it *Lucus* is shown by several indications.

> 157. sed lenone istoc *Lu*co
> illius domino non *lu*tumst *lu*tulentius.

> 187. ita decipiemus fouea lenonem *Lu*cum.

The play on *lu*pus is manifest and occurs again in 648:—

canes compellant in plagas lepide *lu*pum,

where the Palatine MSS. have *Lycum*. Lindsay suggests λύκον. But it makes no difference to the jest whether the name is written as Greek or transliterated and given a Latin termination, *Lucum*, and this latter accounts for the variants better.

In *Pseud.* 99 sqq., where the vulgate text is

ut litterarum ego harum sermonem audio
nisi tu illi drachumis fleueris argenteis,
quod tu istis lacrumis te probare postulas,
non pluris refert quam si imbrim in cribrum geras,

more than one scholar has recognized that there is a play on *dracuma* (δραχμή) and *dacruma* (*lacruma*).[1] This play is obscured by the spelling *drachuma*.

At 228 Ballio, threatening Phoenicium, says

cras *Poen*icium *poen*iceo corio inuises pergulam.

Does it need argument or the citation of parallels like *Poenus* to show that Plautus meant the beginning of the two words, which he has pointedly contrasted, to be identical? The scribe of Plautus saw this, spelling them both with *ph*. The editors give *p* in one, and *ph* in the other.

It is impossible to say how much of the Plautine dialogue appears flat and tasteless because we have missed the *double entente* which he had in view.

Pseudolus 636 and following seems a case in point. Harpax the soldier's servant, is questioning Pseudolus, who pretends to be a slave of Ballio to whom Harpax has been sent, with a sum of money, by his master.

The dialogue proceeds.—

HA. sed quid tibi est nomen? Ps. (*aside*) seruos est huic lenoni Surus,
eum esse me dicam. (*to* Harpax) Surus sum. HA. Surus? Ps. id est nomen mihi.
HA. uerba multa facimus. eru' si tuo domi est quin prouocas
ut id agam quod missus huc sum? Ps. quidquid est nomen tibi,
si intus esset, euocarem.

[1] The form *dacruma* is vouched for by the obvious alliteration in Ennius's well-known epitaph, 'nemo me *d*acrumis *d*ecoret neque *f*unera *f*letu | *f*axit. cur? *u*olito *u*iuo' per ora *u*irum.' Professor J. S. Reid has doubted this on the ground that if Ennius had thus written the fact would certainly have been recorded. But it is a question of pronunciation rather than of writing. The sound was neither an ordinary *d* nor an ordinary *l*. And if I am not mistaken there was exactly the same fluctuation in *odos* (*odor*) *olos* (*olor*) in the time of Plautus; see *Pseud.* 841 sqq., upon which I have commented in the forthcoming Brugmann memorial volume of the *Idg. Forschungen*.

Most readers, I think, will consider this poor fun; and, if asked to analyse their impression, would probably reply that Harpax's repetition of *Surus* is pointless and that there is no special force in 'quidquid est nomen tibi', though it is of course true that Pseudolus is not at present supposed to know his interlocutor's name, which is first given in 653.[1] The clue to the mystery is, I believe, to be found in 1218, where Pseudolus's appearance is described.

> mihi quoque iamdudum ille Surus[2] cor perfrigefacit, (1215)
> sumbolum[2] qui ab hoc accepit. mira sunt ni Pseudolust,
> eho tu, qua facie fuit dudum quoi dedisti sumbolum?
> HA. rufus quidam, uentriosus, crassis *suris*, subniger, etc.

That is when Pseudolus says 'Surus sum' Harpax glances at the thick calves of Pseudolus and inquires '*Su*rus?'[3] Pseudolus, who cannot retort by extracting a jest out of his opponent's name, shows his petulance by calling him Mr. 'No name'. *sura* occurs in yet another passage where the commentators have missed a joke (1173 sqq.). Ballio and Simo are chaffing Harpax:—

> BA. quotumo die
> ex Sicyone huc peruenisti? HA. altero ad meridie.
> BA. strenue mehercle iisti. SIM. quam uelis, *pernix* homost:
> ubi *sur*am aspicias, scias posse eum gerere crassas compedis.

The play on *pernix*, 'swift,' and *pernae*, 'hams,' leads up to 'calves'.

The same word is utilized in *Captiui* 850 'pernulam atque *optal*miam', as it should be written, the play being on *ob* and *talus*. Mr. H. W. Prescott, *Classical Philology*, January, 1909, pp. 4, 5, rightly defends the text: but the intrusive *h* of the convention has blinded his eyes to its purport.

A little further on in the *Pseudolus* is a verse which obviously gains in alliterative force if written and recited thus:—

> ego deuortor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam
> apud anum illam doliarem[4] *c*laudam *cr*assam *Cru*sidem (659),

[1] I observe here in passing that if *harpax* is printed as Greek in 654 (Leo and Lindsay), it should have its accent on the last ἁρπάξ, like other adverbs in -άξ.

[2] So the editors, doing justice to the alliteration; but one hundred lines earlier, where exactly the same collocation occurs, they give 'si ueniret S*y*rus | quoi dedi s*u*mbolum'.

[3] The difference of quantity is not important in Plautus's puns. Cf. *Pseud.* 791 '*fur*inum est *for*um'; *Truc.* 773 '*cura cor* meum mouit'; *Merc.* 643 '*malis* mihi dedit magnum *malum*'; *Rud.* 12, 25 'Hercules istum infel*ic*et cum sua *lic*entia'.

[4] *doliarem* is here usually taken as 'pot-bellied', 'alter Bottich' (Georges). But it may be doubted whether this is the sense, or, at any rate, the sole sense intended (Donatus's note on *suffarcinatam*, Ter. *Andr.* 770, is clearly

where the most negligent observer can hardly miss the ringing of the changes on *d*, *r*, *t*, and *c*.

Another character in this play, C(h)arinus, has had his name played on in Greek.

712. CAL. Carinus. Ps. euge! iam χάριν τούτῳ ποιοῦ.

It is submitted to the same treatment in Latin.

736. di immortales, non *Car*inus mihi hic quidem sed Copiast!

i. e. with our friend there is no question of the 'triste nomen carendi', Cic. *Tusc.* i. 87.

The last place I shall cite is *Rudens* 494 sqq., where the shipwrecked pair Labrax and Charmides are indulging in recriminations, each accusing the other of being the Jonah of their voyage. The burthen of the bandied complaints is '*You* did it, *You*'.[1]

494. LA. utinam te priu' quam oculis uidissem meis
malo cruciatu in Sicilia perbiteres,
quem propter hoc mihi optigit misero mali.
CH. utinam quom in aedis me ad te adduxisti ⟨domum⟩,
in carcere illo potius cubuissem die.
deosque immortalis quaeso, dum uiuas, uti
500. omnis tui similis hospitis habeas tibi.
LA. Malam Fortunam in aedis te adduxi meas
quid mihi scelesto tibi erat auscultatio?
quidue hinc abitio? quidue in nauem inscensio?
ubi perdidi etiam plus boni quam mihi fuit.
505. CH. pol minime miror nauis si fractast tibi.
scelu' *te* et scele*ste* parta quae uexit bona.
LA. pessum dedisti me blandimentis tuis.
CH. scelestiorem cenam cenaui *tu*am
quam quae *Tu*estae quondam aut positast *Te*reo.

A parallel to this 'tutoyant' passage is Ennius, *Annals*, 108 'o Ti*te*, *tute*, Tati, *tibi* tanta, *tu*ranne, *tu*listi.'

The use of alliteration as an irritant which appears often to pass without observation[2] may be exemplified from another Plautine scene, now emasculated by the introduction of the more familiar spellings.

negligible.) For the formation *doliaris*, like *molaris*, *ollaris*, etc., would more properly mean 'belonging to' the *dolium*, and such is its use in the only other phrase, *doliare uinum*, for which it is attested. Then it would refer to the old lady's affection for the cellar.

[1] The 'owlish' iteration *tu tu*, as the parasite of the *Menaechmi* calls it in the stormy altercation, 646-54.

[2] For example, I do not find it used to account for the somewhat odd expression in Hor. *S.* ii 6. 30 sq. '"tu pulses omne quod obstat | ad *M*aecenatem *m*emori si *m*ente recurras?" hoc iuuat et *m*elli est: non *m*entiar' (Horace echoes the angry *m*'s of the last sentence), nor noted at Prop. iii. 12. 1 '*P*ostume, *p*lorantem *p*otuisti linquere Gallam?' The *p*'s are taken up again in 3, 5, and 6).

The earliest forms of *coquo* and *coquus* which we can infer for Latin are, for the verb, *quequo*, and, for the noun, *quoquos*. In the time of Plautus *quequo* had become *quoquo*. How much longer the verb remained *quoquo*, does not concern us here. But the noun *quoquos* was current, at least in popular speech, in the time of Cicero, as we know from the jest of the orator[1] on *quoque* vocative and *quoque* conjunction, preserved by Quintilian (vi. 3. 47). The pronunciation of this *quo*, when initial, was undoubtedly (kwo), though in the second syllable it may have been weaker, as Lindsay, l. c., suggests.

This is shown by the jingle in four lines of the scene, which I will now quote as I believe Plautus wrote them ; *Pseud.* 851 sqq.

> Cook. an tu inuenire postulas *qu*em*qu*am *quoqu*om[2]
> nisi miluinis aut a*qu*ilinis ungulis?
> Ba. an tu *quoqu*inatum[3] te ire *quoqu*am postulas
> *qu*in ibi constrictis ungulis cenem *quoqu*as?[4]

At the end of the scene we have another ebullition, 889 sqq.:

> Ba. molestus ne sis; nimium iam tinnis: tace.
> em illic ego habito; intro abi et cenam *quoqu*e.[5]
> propera. Boy. quin tu is accubitum et conuiuas cedo,
> corrumpitur iam cena. Ba. em, subolem sis, uide.
> iam hic *quoqu*e scelestus est *quoqu*i[6] sublingulo.

May I digress for a moment to observe that there must be many jests in Plautus which seem pointless to us, solely because their point has still to be recovered? In a paper, read before the Cambridge Philological Society on March 16, 1905, and briefly mentioned in the *Proceedings* of the same year, I made some suggestions for restoring their force to certain expressions in a scene of the *Amphitryo*, Act I, Sc. i, to one of which, as the paper has never been published, I may here refer. Mercury, the false Sosia, says that he has, ere now, sent four men to sleep without a night dress, that is, has stunned and stripped them. The true Sosia overhearing this says, l. 152 (304 of the play),

> formido male
> ne ego hic nomen meum commutem et QVINTVS[7] fiam *e Sosia.*

[1] Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 300. Mr. Lindsay seems somewhat to disparage the value of this evidence, saying, 'Puns are unsafe evidence of pronunciation.' There are, however, perfect puns as well as imperfect ones; and it is obvious that the orator's witticism, 'ego quoque tibi fauebo', must have missed fire unless the assonance was absolutely perfect.

[2] coquam *the edd.* [3] Preserved by A. [4] Preserved in P.

[5] Preserved in P. [6] Preserved by A.

[7] The word has to be printed in the capitals of the Romans to give the requisite ambiguity. Compare Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 580 '*nomen* quoque mansit in illa | *urbis* et ipsa suis deplangitur ARDEA pennis', with Bréal, *Semantics*, Preface, Eng. Ed., p. xxxviii and note.

This would gain much in force if we supposed that Plautus is glancing at the pretensions of his contemporary Ennius to be a reincarnate. The mention of sleep and the curious agreement of the phrase with that of Pers. *Sat.* 6. 9 sqq. (in which also there is a scoffing reference to the lines in the first book of the *Annales* where Ennius asserted upon the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy his claim to be Homer come to life again), constitute a coincidence too striking to be wholly accidental. 'Lunai portum, est operae, cognoscite, ciues: | cor iubet hoc Enni postquam destertuit esse | Maeonides QVINTVS pauone ex Pythagoreo.' On the literary relations of the two contemporaries, Professor Vahlen has some observations in the *Praefatio* to his second edition of Ennius, p. xxi. He notes there a few coincidences in diction, to which may be added the remarkable word *dulcifer*, *Annals* 264, Plaut. *Pseud.* 1262.

In *Stichus* 342 sq.

> PAN. ecquem conuenisti? PI. *multos.* PAN. at *uirum*? PI. equidem *plurimos*:
> uerum ex *multis* nequiorem nullum quam hic est.

It is obvious at first sight that by *uirum* Panegyris, who is anxiously expecting her husband, intends not 'a man' but 'her man', but the insipidity of the dialogue remains till, taking a hint from *nequam* (*Bacch.* 195, *Poen.* 658), we observe that Plautus is playing on another sense of *multus* (*mollis*, effeminate) which we find in a well-known epigram of Catullus 112. 2 'multus es et pathicus'.

In the *Classical Review* for 1901, xv. 305, I have commented on the absurdity of inferring from the adjective in '*hirquinis* follibus,' Hor. *S.*i. 4. 19, that the Romans made bellows from the hides of he-goats. The ambiguity of *hircus* serves the same purpose of raising a laugh in more than one passage of Plautus. I quote *Pseud.* 737 sq. 'PS. ecquid sapit? CHA. *hircum* ab *alis*', and *Poen.* 871 sqq. 'SY. Sine pinnis uolare hau facilest: meae *alae* pinnas non habent. | MI. nolito edepol deuellisse: iam his duobus mensibus | *uolucres* tibi erunt tuae *hirquinae*,' for the purpose of suggesting that in the sham ravings of *Menaechmi*, 837 sqq.

> ita illa me ab laeua rabiosa femina adseruat canes
> poste autem illinc hircus *alus* qui saepe aetate in sua
> perdidit ciuem innocentem falso testimonio,

the change of one letter from *alus* to *ales* is all that is required to give the passage some meaning.

The scene of the *Mostellaria*, where the impudent slave Tranio is fooling the unconscious Simo and Theopropides, is honeycombed

with *doubles ententes*, of which only one (in 816 *a*, *b* = 845 sq.) has been noted. I have neither the time nor the inclination to set them out at length. But I will indicate some parallels. The part of *nequam* in the *Stichus* (l. c.) is played by *improbiores* here (824).[1] There are equivoques in *postis* (818) suggesting *posticus*, Aus. *Ep.* 77 (70), 7 (a similar play on *pone*, *Aul.* 657). So *ab infimo*, *tarmes* (*tero*, and *gurgulio*, Pers. iv. 38), *secat* (Mart. vi. 37. 1), *intempestiue excisos* (Ov. *Fasti*, iv. 361) 826, *inducti pice* (ὑποπισσοῦν, Ar. *Plut.* 1093) 827, and *coagmenta in foribus* 829 (cf. Baehrens on Cat. xv. 12, Ellis on *ib.* 18).

Lastly, may I use this opportunity to suggest that, in the amusing colloquy of *Persa*, 316 sqq.,

> Sag. a! a! abi atque caue sis
> a cornu. To. quid iam? Sag. quia *boues* bini hic sunt in crumina.
> To. *emitte* sodes, ne enices fame; *sine ire pastum*.
> Sag. enim metuo ut possiem *in bubile reicere*, ne uagentur.
> To. ego *reiciam*. habe animum bonum. Sag. credetur, commodabo.
> sequere hac sis. argentum hic inest quod mecum dudum orasti.
> To. quid tu ais? Sag. dominus me boues mercatum Eretriam misit.
> nunc mi Eretria erit[2] haec tua domus. To. nimi' tu facete loquere,
> 324. atque ego omne *argentum* tibi hoc actutum incolume redigam;
> nam iam omnis sucopantias instruxi et comparaui,
> quo pacto ab lenone auferam hoc argentum— Sag. tanto melior.
> To. et mulier ut sit libera atque hoc det argentum.

armentum would do more justice to the poet's vein and to the usage of *redigam*, so common in the sense of driving animals back, than *argentum*? Compare the phrases in ll. 317 sqq. which I have put into italics. With three *argentum's* in the neighbourhood (321, 326, 327) corruption of one *armentum* in 324 was almost inevitable.

I can hardly hope to have collected all the evidence derivable from plays upon proper names; it is quite possible that I have over-

[1] The audience were prepared to follow the comedian's meaning by the notable comparison of a man and a house in the first act, sc. 2 (cf. 133 sq. '*probus* fui | in fabrorum potestate dum fui', 145 'ego sum in usu factus *nequior*'). I may add that in *arte dormiunt* (829 quoted on p. 197) there is apparently no latent impropriety. Tranio intends it for the audience who are to observe how 'fast asleep' are the old men of whom he is making game, these two vultures that an *improba* '*cornix*' is plucking (832). About *uecturam* (823) I do not feel so sure.

[2] There is surely a pun in *Eretria erit*. Compare '*facete* loquere'.

looked a good deal, because, as every one can see, it is not always upon the surface. But what I have produced seems enough to show that what our present practice loses us in detail is not inconsiderable. But this is not all. The greater sensitiveness in respect of the transliteration of Greek words into Latin, which was developed not so very long before the age of Cicero, is itself a fact of some significance. It is a sign or concomitant of the tendency which was destined first to polish and to sharpen, and ultimately to destroy the artistic form of Latin poetry and prose—of the movement, the rise of which can be traced for example, in Horace's only half outspoken distaste for the *ueteres*, while its culmination is seen in Martial 'Accius et quicquid Pacuuiusque uomunt' (xi. 90. 6). To the apostles and devotees of the movement, the cultivated semi-Greeks of republican and, still more, of imperial Rome, *tursus* (Italian *torso*) and *crupta* (Italian *grotta*) must have seemed as strange and boorish as the *Mounseer*, which I have myself heard addressed to a Calais waiter, or the pronunciation of *Bordeaux* as *Bordoaks* which Charles James Fox is said to have recommended, both by precept and example, would appear to educated Englishmen since the time of the Second Empire. The hybrid puns, which Plautus has in such profusion, were bound to disappear as soon as the domestic pronunciation of Greek words was felt to be inadequate. And it is noticeable that the comedian of the Hellenizing circle of Scipio avoided them altogether.[1]

A disregard of the Plautine spelling in this respect is therefore more than a total of petty errors. It amounts to the defacement of an ancient monument, the removal of a landmark in Roman literature, the destruction of one of the means by which we are helped to a genuine appreciation of antiquity. But the spirit of our age, in the *praefatio* of a leading editor of Plautus, has already issued its denunciation of the man who should restore his proper spelling to the dramatist whom he edits: 'qui "Bacidis" scribere animum inducat, merito rideatur'—*merito rideatur*, my masters!

It is curious that some of those who have not hitherto troubled about this matter do, at least unconsciously, admit the principle that the pre-classical literature should be differentiated from the classical by its spelling. An attentive examination of the editing of different Latin texts in the same series or by the same editor will reveal

[1] It should be added that plays upon Latin words are not numerous in Terence. All the clear ones that I have noticed are at *Haut.* 356, 372, 628; *Eun.* 236, 575; *Phorm.* 374, 500, 842 sqq.; *Hec.* Prol. 9 sq.; *Ad.* 432 (575). Most of them are put in the mouth of slaves.

a singular circumstance. Twenty-five characters are employed to print the Augustans, but twenty-four are found enough for the Early Republicans. In Propertius and Martial *uua* must be spelt with three different letters; in Plautus it has to be satisfied with two. In the standard critical edition of Vergil *via* confronted us; in the same editor's fragments of ancient dramatic poetry it turned into *uia*. Unless such editors imagined, what I will never impute to them, that the Romans enlarged their alphabet by a distinction between the vowel and consonantal sounds of *u* between the years 200 and 100 B.C., this proceeding, if not to be explained as I have explained it, is as motiveless as it is irrational.

Whenever men take upon themselves to abandon the plain, the simple, and the practical custom of writing a language as it was written by its only accredited employers, they fall into diverse errors and inconsistencies: *ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit*. Thus in a well-known and valued *Thesaurus Poeticus* of Latin I find under the letter U the following: 'V f. n. *Lettre de l'alphabet* Subjecimus illam cui nomen U dederunt, *T. Maur.* (*Litt.* 154),' and under the letter V the following: 'V, n. f. *Lettre de l'alphabet* Cecropiis ignota notis ferale sonans V, Ausonius *Id.* 12, *Litt.* 8. Hujus in locum videtur V latina subdita' *T. Maur.* (*Syll.* 93).[1] While in another *Thesaurus*, the gigantic mausoleum now being erected for the remains of Latin literature, you will search the headlines in vain for the distinction of *u* and *v* which figures in the text below.

I can but touch upon the trouble which is caused in particular passages when the genuine spelling is in itself ambiguous. At Lucan vii. 658 the editors of the text are at issue whether the text should give *voluit* or *volvit*—a vain dispute. For what the poet wrote was *either*, or rather *neither*, but u*oluit*. In the *Revue de Philologie* for 1908, p. 54, the following is printed for an iambic senarius of Plautus, *Cas.* 592

qui me atque uxorem ludificatust lar*v*a.

The literary monuments of Plautine and pre-Plautine times are unhappily few, and to but a small section of students of Latin is the question how the Greek words contained therein should be written a matter of much concern. But it is otherwise with *u* and *v*. This late,[2] unnecessary and inconsistent[3] distinction affects the whole of

[1] This gem of lexicography is still sparkling in the revised edition.

[2] It is certainly not older than the seventeenth century.

[3] Its inconsistency lies on the surface If *u* and *u̯* (w) need distinguishing, why not *i* and *i̯* (y). In Germany the paradox is greatest The German's *j* is exactly the Latin *i̯*, and he does not use it: his *v* is not the Latin *u̯* and he does.

spoken and written Latin in every period. It confuses the presentation of the data both of palaeography and of philology, and tends directly to keep alive a corrupt and misleading pronunciation. Is it then going too far to say that it is high time that it should be condemned by the sentence and discountenanced by the example of all the official guardians of our studies, who should at last determine that what the ancients have joined no modern has the right to put asunder?

ADDENDA.

PAGE 180, NOTE 2.

Horace, *S.* i. 2. 120, affords a noteworthy parallel to the article in Greek: *illam* 'post paulo' 'sed pluris' 'si exierit uir'. What is this but the Latin equivalent of ἐς τούτους τοὺς 'οὐχὶ προδώσω τὸν Ἀθηναίων κολοσυρτόν.' Aristophanes *Vesp.* 666?

PAGE 183.

I did not think it necessary to produce proof that moral condemnation of an act alleged was likely to affect our judgement upon the evidence by which the allegation was supported. But since this paper was in type I have lighted upon a passage in a well-known book upon the social life of Rome under the Caesars, published in 1888, which I will quote, since it contains an admission far weightier than any argument could be. The writer says (p. 73):

> 'The dictates alike of *feeling* and reason forbid us to believe the worst accounts that have reached us.'

(The italics are mine.)

PAGES 184 sqq.

To prevent all possible misconception, I would add that in these pages I am contending for the credibility of ancient witnesses in matters of fact alone. With their authority as grammatical theorists, philologers, or textual critics I am in no wise concerned. Accordingly, while I am bound to accept Quintilian's statement as to what stood in the text of Vergil in his day, I own no compulsion to hold with him that *qui—risere* could be followed after an interval of but three short words by a *hunc*, for which a *hos* would have done every bit as well. For this is a matter of grammatical theory.

INDEX I. RERVM

INDEX II. VERBORVM

INDEX III. LOCORVM

TERCENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF JOHN MILTON

ADDRESS BY A. W. WARD

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Delivered on
Tuesday, December 8, 1908, (*the Eve of the Tercentenary*)

IN the absence, for a cause which we all sincerely regret, of the President of the British Academy, it falls to me, most unworthy of so honourable a charge, to welcome, on the eve of the Tercentenary of John Milton's birth, the friends who have assembled to honour his immortal memory. There are others—historians and critics of acknowledged eminence—who would far more fitly have occupied the place left vacant by our President's absence; and I rejoice to think that from a poet to whose voice no English ear could fail to listen a message of approval and sympathy has reached us which will be read to you presently. But there is one—no longer among us—to whom I think we would all have readily yielded precedence on an occasion like that which unites us this evening. By the monumental achievement of a long and arduous literary life David Masson has for ever linked his name with the memories which crowd upon us to-night—the memories, inseparably interwoven, of a great man and a great age.

However far, in commemorating the dawn of that 'bright effluence of bright essence' which symbolizes the divine gift of genius to man, we may fall short of giving expression to our sense of its significance, we are conscious that there is nothing alien to the spirit either of Milton's life or of Milton's art in the tribute which we pay—in the acknowledgement which we offer. To his soaring genius the thought of an undying fame and, I dare to say, the desire of it, were habitual; but the appeal which he made was not to the 'broad rumour' of a thoughtless world—neither the world to which he was unknown in the pure tranquillity of his youth, nor that which (with an exception here or there of thoughtful remembrance or lucid insight) hurried past the blind solitude of his declining years. Before the greatest of his works was completed he knew to what height his name would be raised unless the perversity of fate should 'damp his intended wing'; and, when his work was done, his imagination, speeding into futurity

with steady flight, would not have disdained that clear recognition of later ages which comes slowly to the greatest, and imperfectly even to them.

For think of him, if only for a moment, at two stages of his life separated from each other by the length of a human generation, and, as it may seem to a rapid survey, distinct as regards both intellectual purpose and personal aspiration. It was not, as an assumed analogy between the story of his life and that of the life of another of the world's greatest poets (Goethe) might seem to suggest, Milton's sojourn in Italy which separated as by a golden bar the earlier from the later half of his career; for the influence, enriching and refining, of classical antiquity had been strongest on him in the first thirty years of his life, and it lingered with him to the last, though under the control of a yet more potent influence. It was rather the anticipation of his return to England, where a new responsibility, as he believed, awaited him, which caused him as it were to recast the framework of his plan of life and work. But think of him, if you will, towards the close of the first and again towards the close of the second period of the race which it was his to run. Picture him first, if you like, in the spring of 1638, shortly before leaving the rural seclusion of Horton—

> By slow Meander's margent green
> And in the violet-embroidered vale—

to begin his travels beyond seas. He had crossed the threshold of maturity; behind him lay, far but not forgotten, the days of his unchildish childhood; the grave but not joyless experiences of his London home and school—the house of a father of whom the son could say that between them they held Phoebus Apollo 'not in part but in whole'—the school which cherished the ideals of its illustrious founder and drank in with sound learning a pure Christianity. Behind him, too, lay the seven years of his residence at Cambridge, who (the thought is unavoidable, and most perhaps to some of us whom some day she will fold to sleep in her motherly arms) might peradventure have kept him to her altogether. I feel sure that no small proportion of my hearers were, like myself, allowed to share in the solemnities—not less graceful than dignified—which, when last June was 'clothing in fresh attire' the roses in Christ's Gardens, Milton's college dedicated to the memory of her illustrious son; and we may well take it from the present Master of the College (I only wish he had been willing to tell you so himself to-night) that no transient tempests had obscured an appreciation of the eager but not uncritical student's deserts in the Society of Christ's; and that he might well have become one of

themselves, had not his resolute ambition, combined as it was with a rare mental balance, left the chance aside. 'There was,' says Dr. Peile, 'a great work before him; he must be thoroughly prepared.' What greater wealth, Milton exclaims, could his father have bestowed upon him than the opportunities for this ample preparation? And so it had come to pass that in the following five studious years at Horton he had grown into that fullness of promise which a sudden summons—'whether the Muse or Love' be the summoner, and to him both had called—can at once quicken into performance. 'My hasting days,' he had written, 'on being arrived to the age of twenty-three'—

> fly on with full career,
> But my late spring no bud or blossom show'th.

Yet in this very year he had set his hand to *Arcades*, and three years later he had completed *Comus*, a poem in which the sublimity of his genius already shines forth with unrivalled splendour, while in his hands language passes into combinations—'musical, as is Apollo's lute.' It is at this time that I ask you to think of him, on the eve of his Italian journey, in the beauty of early manhood—with 'fair large front and eye sublime', and hyacinthine locks hanging in clusters 'round from his parted forelock'—riding over from Horton to Eton, there to seek the acquaintance and advice of the aged Provost, whose fame was in the mouths of many men, and in the palaces and along the waterways of many cities. Sir Henry Wotton, as Cowley afterwards wrote, was before long to go on 'his fourth' and last 'embassie'; 'the seignory and sovereignty of time' were over him, and death not far distant. But the old man's mind was clear, and his intellectual sympathies were active; and the praise of *Comus* which he sent to Milton after his visit—plainly confessing that he had never before seen anything resembling its delicacy of expression in our language—was, so far as we know, the first which had yet reached the poet from any—may I borrow the phraseology of a later age, for poets were criticised before reviews existed—from any authoritative quarter. The commendation was not rejected by Milton. Seven years afterwards he printed Sir Henry Wotton's generous letter in the first edition of his *Collected Poems*, and he referred to it with just pride nine years later in the *Defensio Secunda*.

The tribute of judicious praise which Milton had received with pleasure in the season when his 'inward ripeness' first revealed itself to him and others, came rarely to him in the still years which preceded his peaceful death. But he then needed no stimulus, and asked for no encouragement. He was not forgotten by the few, and

ready to hold converse with them on what he had achieved; but 'all passion was spent'; the labours which without that passion could not have been sustained were over, and the sightless eyes were gazing upon things invisible to mortal sight. It is true that in the year before his death he once more had recourse to the weapon of controversy which he had in earlier days dedicated to Liberty's defence; but its edge seemed blunted, and his Toleration pamphlet of 1673 was a compromise—though not a compromise with conviction—such as the waves of the nation's historical progress must in the end break down. How different had been the resolve—not the resolve of a moment or for a moment—with which already in Italy, and after his return from Italy, he had girded himself up for the struggle. Voices have not been wanting to charge him with obliquity of judgement in turning aside from divine poesy to barren controversy. Turning aside—barren controversy! He knew its barrenness, its frequent futility, and the weariness of soul which is the common meed of those who 'embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes'. 'But, were it the meanest under-service, if God by His secretary Conscience enjoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back.' Yet, though he thus resolved, he had, as we know, a settled plan of campaign, as I may truly call it, for the struggle into which he had undertaken to enter. The Church, to which he had from his childhood been destined, by his own desires not less than by the wishes of his parents and friends, had his first thoughts as he went forth into the fray; but from her claims, as they presented themselves to him, he before long turned to respond to an even broader appeal—that of a cause for which many have lived and been ready to die, whose pen, like his, was their sword, yet who, nevertheless, may be reckoned among its self-sacrificing witnesses. To Liberty he came forward to testify under all the chief aspects of the national life; and, if a bitter sense of personal humiliation such as his proud soul could not bear led him to invert the due sequence of their treatment, the history of controversial literature contains no parallel to the onslaught, in a single year, on the *aes triplex* of social coercion—the marriage-laws; the stifling stupor of the English educational system which had long plodded on with hardly a glance upward towards great ideals; and that self-satisfied inquisitorial process by means of which Church and State had long sought, and were now once more seeking, to strangle before it was born into the light of day the reasonable expression of human thought. Freedom was here, as elsewhere, the cause for which Milton strove, and the love of which fired his zeal; but we at least shall not be likely to forget

his subsidiary argument that freedom is necessary to good letters, and that many a slavish tradition as to the dependence of authorship is contradicted by his pronouncement that the product of wits 'damped' by tyranny is 'flattery and fustian'.

But the height of the conflicts in which Milton shared had not been reached till, undismayed by the tragic events of which England, and his London in particular, had been the theatre, he assumed the whole responsibility of his political and religious principles, and became the public servant of the Commonwealth. No service of man is compatible with perfect intellectual or moral freedom; and, though clothed with the semblance of offensive warfare, his political writings became henceforth of their essence defensive, while considerations of policy, rather than the impulse of advocacy, now formed the primary motive of their eloquence, and even of their many deviations from good taste and its inseparable accompaniment, good feeling. Not for the sake of apology, but lest we should mistake his actual point of view, let us remember that the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* was not put forth till the event to which it was designed to reconcile the national mind had exercised its profoundly disturbing effect; and, again, let us concede that the answer to the King's Book (so-called) was not so much an answer to a specious venture in spurious literature as a protest against a sentiment which was still a powerful political force.

In an intensified sense this note in Milton's later controversial writings seems characteristic of the most elaborate of them all, the *Defence on behalf of the English People*, in which, as the spokesman of both Government and nation, he had sought to make it clear that for the action of the one the other made itself in every way responsible. As a *tour de force*—I am not at this moment criticising it, but merely seeking to assign it the place which belongs to it in the story of its author's intellectual activity—it has rarely been surpassed; for Salmasius, whose *Defensio regia* it undertook to follow and refute, fundamentally, consecutively, thoroughly, was in his day the first among his peers, and his peers were those great scholars whose labours were regarded by their age as the acme of intellectual perfection. Again, I say, I am not upholding (how could I uphold) the methods of Milton's famous tract; I am not even insisting that, together with a closeness of argument which is Milton's own, we find here a fertility of rejoinder in which he certainly shows himself to all intents and purposes a scholar not less well equipped than his opponent, and, though deficient in humour, anything but deficient in wit. But I am reminding my hearers of

the service which Milton, now the half-hidden, half-forgotten denizen of Bunhill Fields, had some twenty years earlier undertaken, and consciously undertaken, to render to the English people—believing, as he not long afterwards wrote, that the truth, which had been defended by arms, should also be defended by reason—'which is the best and the only legitimate means of defending it'. Nor can you forget the price he had paid for the privilege of rendering that service. The eyes which he had 'overplied' in the task which he had undertaken now began to fail hopelessly; and before he had finished the pleadings in the long-protracted suit he was totally blind.

'Who best bear His mild yoke they serve Him best', Milton afterwards wrote in a sonnet of which we would fain know the date; since blindness had settled down upon him for five long years or more before the resignation to the will of God, which speaks from those beautiful lines, had been succeeded by an anxious interval of hiding from the hand of man. Those years had been years of happiness; for happy are they who among the great trials of life and the small—and Milton had his full share of both—without abandoning faith or hope, find in themselves the remedies of which the use refreshes, purifies, ennobles. Probably few periods of Milton's life had been fuller to him of such comfort as this than the four or five years in which, surrounded by men who were worthy of his converse, and with his loving second wife by his side, he had stood expectant of the realisation of national ideals destined soon to recede into a dim distance, while at times he was lifted, an earthly guest, into the heaven of heavens. The stern nursing of adversity had not yet weaned him from preoccupation with things of State. We may still turn over with a curious hand the state papers which he brought forth with him from the Latin Secretary's Office—whether by accident or for some special purpose, it is useless to speculate. At any rate, we find him refusing, curtly enough, the suggestion of one of his most valued associates of these days that he shall use his knowledge and his wisdom 'to compile a history of our troubles; for they seem rather to require oblivion than commemoration; nor have we so much need of a person to compose a history of our troubles as happily to settle them'. For the artist in him could not subdue his hand to whatever he worked in; and as he contemplated the perturbed condition into which public affairs were coming to fall around him, he could not but share the misgivings of wise men of other days in regarding the persons and actions presented to their eyes as petty, ignoble, 'below all history.' Among the great projects of his life there was now but one to which an impulse which had at last become

a purpose decided him to return; and we have good reason for concluding that it was some 'two years before the King came in'—a few months after the death of Milton's second wife—that he addressed himself to the work which he promised to complete 'if I have the power—and I shall have the power if God be gracious'.

But, before *Paradise Lost* was more than in part written, events had happened such as assuredly have never either before or since interfered between the greatest achievement of a poet's life and himself. Milton had been in hiding; he had been in prison; his controversial books had been burnt; and with his individual offences otherwise unpurged, he was free under the cover of the Act of Indemnity. Let us pass by other experiences—of the vengeance taken upon the quick and the dead whom he had most honoured among men. It was through a valley thus shadowed that Milton had passed into the sunlit nook of which I spoke, where whatever hazards—plague or fire—might betide, and whatever vexations life's dull round might bring, and though the past and its memories of honour and of shame were to be unforgotten by him, his labours were to be divinely turned 'to peaceful end'.

Paradise Lost, I need hardly remind my hearers, was in no sense the fruit of Milton's old age, as which, if it is thought well, it is possible to describe *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes.* When *Paradise Lost* was finished, some seven years after the poet had set hand to its consecutive execution, he had not yet reached his sixtieth year; and, when he first resolved to concentrate his intellectual labours upon it, he had only recently relinquished a very varied literary activity. It is well known how the idea of composing a great poem, and then that of composing a great epic, on the particular subject of *Paradise Lost* had been present to Milton from his youth to his earlier and thence to his later manhood; and all the general conditions of the work he had long since in his frequent meditations determined. It was inevitable that a master of so many languages should have acquainted himself with any accessible work in which previous or contemporary authors had treated the same theme; and what they—Vondel more especially, of whom a further word immediately—had taught him, or (as I should prefer to say) the conviction which they had confirmed in him, was that it is both the function and the right of a poet to command his subject instead of allowing it to command him. The difficulty experienced by many worthy people in discriminating very clearly between what Milton found in the Bible and what he added of his own bears witness to the harmoniousness of his workmanship, for, as a matter of fact, it is only the last of the twelve

books of the poem and part of its predecessor which can, together with the luminously expansive *Paradise Regained*, be justly described as a paraphrastic reproduction of the Scriptural narrative. But the unity of impression conveyed by the longer poem also bears witness to what I take to be of yet greater moment—the harmoniousness of the design itself on which the poet builds up his work. Undoubtedly Milton's familiarity with the Bible was such that the whole range of ornament—and it is an extraordinary range—which lies in the beauty of biblical phraseology and the organ-tones of mere biblical nomenclature was at his command as it never has been in that of any writer before or since, from Cædmon to Klopstock, and is certainly never likely to be again in these post-Puritan ages. But what is much more is that the initiated poet's intimacy with his theme, recast as it is by his own original genius, is such as to suggest the same kind of inspiration—I say the same kind, not the same degree—as that which spoke to men through the writers of the sacred books themselves.

The present would in no case be a fit occasion on which to dwell further on a theme which, with one exception (that of the allegory of Sin and Death), is developed in full and natural accordance with its fundamental conception of guilt and the consequences of guilt. But there seems no reason for being overawed by the dictum of Goethe—whose admiration for the genius of Milton was strong and fervent, and who, I think, gave no indication of the sense in which his remark was to be taken—that the subject of *Paradise Lost*, though extremely magnificent, is inwardly unsound and hollow. There might have been some force in the application of the criticism to our other great English epics, where, as in a tapestry-covered antique hall, the eye is content with the magnificent pomp of the hangings; but in *Paradise Lost* the radiance proceeds from within. Still less need we be moved by the warning of an accomplished French critic, that the fundamental conceptions of *Paradise Lost*—in other words its theology—have become strange to us. Were *Paradise Lost* a dogmatic poem, there might be some force in the censure; but even Pope's sarcasm only directed itself to passages—I might almost say a passage—of the poem, and stands in designed contrast to a tribute to the boundless flight of Milton's genius which the conclusion of this very passage signally illustrates. Moreover, were the argument of *Paradise Lost* ten times a mythological fable, it is the poet's own matured conception of the ways of God to man, not a mere inherited belief, which his poem undertakes to justify.

But I ought not to allow myself to be tempted away from the plain purpose of this gathering. What is it—if I may presume to answer, if

I may even presume to ask, such a question—what is it in the labours of which we have been speaking, in their consummation, that seems chiefly to move us, on the eve of the tercentenary of Milton's birth, to add to the wreaths which generation after generation, and century succeeding century, have laid upon his tomb—yet one other wreath, woven though it be

> From the autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
> In Vallombrosa . . .

In the first instance, the gift which was his in so marvellous a measure that to no other English writer at least, in prose or verse, it seems so distinctively to belong, the gift, too, which from the days of his youth onwards he had recognized as his, and which he had cultivated with religious assiduity, in sunshine and in shade, as the one talent which it is 'death to hide'—till in the evening of his days he returned it tenfold to the giver—how can we better define it than by the one word 'style'. 'Milton,' writes Matthew Arnold in one of the very happiest of his shorter essays, 'is our great artist in style, our one first-rate master in the grand style. . . . His importance to Englishmen, by virtue of this distinction of his, is incalculable. For the English artist in anything, if he is a true artist, the study of Milton has an indescribable attraction.' Wonderful indeed was the self-revelation of this gift to the child; wonderful the consciousness of it in the man, from which no movement of temper and no over-clouding of judgement could lead him long astray; wonderful the power with which he could at the last don the whole radiant panoply and stand forth in it peerless among his peers in the House of Fame! His masters and teachers (who happily included one that 'honoured the Latin, but worshipped the English') had judged that whether aught was imposed by them upon their pupil, 'or betaken to of his own choice in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live.' They had judged aright: the early poems had struck that note of 'perfection' which (as in the terminology of those self-secluded Christian communities to which Milton's thoughts so readily turned) implied the constant presence, the controlling influence, of the ideal. The gift, his most distinctive gift, had continued operative when he had, seemingly once for all, exchanged the chariot of Apollo for a vehicle to which something of the dust of earth is so ready to cling. The danger was near—apart from a different kind of temptation which for the moment I pass by—that the Latinists, from whose mastery a freer method of training had emancipated the English verse in which *Comus* and *Lycidas* were written, would,

though late, assert their predominance over the English prose-writer; but this predominance their influence never achieved, unless it were in his historical writings, where, as we have lately been reminded, he sought to acquire the sententious *Sallustiana brevitas*, which he was unable to imitate more closely than in the form of a certain grave quaintness. In the finest of all his earlier prose efforts, the *Areopagitica*, he sought to follow a model cast in a grander though simpler mould, seeking to adapt to English speech the intense but ample manner of Attic oratory. But, as was most clearly seen when the poetic Muse once more claimed him as her own, the genius of Milton's style was not one which could take its form from predecessors or rivals. Even the verbal texture of what he derived from other authors was transmuted in his hands; besides that in no respect was he more original and more unique than in his prosody—but the entire nature of the service which word or phrase came to render as it gained entrance into his poetry made it his own, and contributory to a total effect quite different than that which it had been in a former phase of its existence (if I may use such a phrase) intended to aid in producing. To test the truth of such a criticism, Milton's method of appropriation—for the term is not one from which a student of his writings should shrink—should be compared with Shakespeare's, and again with Shelley's; and it will then be seen how the originality of his own style, as fully manifest in *Paradise Lost* and its successors, was such that his whole method justified itself. It is almost a pity that the notorious eighteenth-century detector of what he thought he might with impunity set down as plagiarisms and thefts should have mixed up so large an amount of falsehood and forgery with his audacious charge, and thus, though Johnson had been rash enough to imply approval of the outrage, should have come forth from it, in Goldsmith's phrase, as a scourged, and it might be added as a self-confessed, impostor. For a search such as the unthinking well-informed love, but which nevertheless should not be evaded, whether its object be a Milton or a Vergil, was thus diverted from its real issues. Perhaps, as I have digressed thus far from the main tenor of this brief address, I may say a single word on the subject of another critical inquiry—conducted in the spirit and according to the laws of true scholarship, with regard to the actual indebtedness to a great contemporary dramatic poet incurred by Milton in many passages of his own matchless epic. There are beyond doubt many instances in which this indebtedness is not to be explained away, as there is no reason whatever why it should be ignored; but a recent consecutive re-reading of *Paradise Lost* side by side

with Vondel's *Lucifer* has intensified my conviction of the radical difference in conception as well as in execution between the two poems. It is in one of the most dramatically powerful parts of Milton's epic—in the passage descriptive of the 'great consult' in Pandemonium (a genuine palace of the Caroline age) among the 'infernal States'—the Dutch ring in that phrase who could mistake—under the dominant presidency of Satan—Moloch breathing flames of fire, time-serving Belial, and the rest, already in mid-revolt against a Power provoked by their own and their leader's pride—that the creation of another world inhabited by a new race of beings is announced as an opportunity for revenge. Far otherwise—and with far less convincing effect—Vondel represents the creation of Man as the cause of the great revolt in Heaven. I have no right to dwell on this difference without examining it more closely, and therefore I merely mention it as illustrating the rashness of those who fail to perceive that unlikeness in likeness is not the least striking among the proofs of originality.

But, to return, the real secret of Milton's style lies far deeper than any question as to the use made by him of 'pearl and gold'—whether classic or barbaric—showered on his receptive genius from the stores which lay open to him as a student. This secret, known to us all, was revealed by himself without the hesitancy of self-ignorance or self-distrust. The drawbacks of which he may have remained unconscious need not impede our assent to his interpretation of his own strength 'when insupportably his foot advanced'. Scant critical acumen is needed to show where in his prose (for even an approach to such instances is wholly isolated in his verse) he is guilty of stumbling against the silent protests of good taste and good feeling—where he swerves into irrelevant retort or rushes into ugly invective, and often alas! consciously matches himself only too successfully with the truculent gladiators of the decadent Renascence. But even passages of this kind at times suffer a sea-change—turning as it were of a sudden into a thing of exquisite beauty and celestial loftiness—as, to take a supreme example, where, in the *Second Defence*, he rises from trivial retorts upon More's scurrilous comments on his supposed personal shortcomings to dwell on the single topic of his blindness. Then it is that, oblivious either of assault or of counter-assault, he bows down, in the solitude which was his inheritance, before the Divine Providence whose ways are not the ways of man, praying but to be 'perfected by feebleness and irradiated by obscurity'. Whence, we need hardly further ask ourselves, this power of self-recovery and rising as he returns into himself—whence, after he had in his latter days

summoned the heavenly Muse to be the visitant of his solitude, his power to detain her

> nightly, or when morn
> Purples the east—

and, as it seems to us, to speak thereafter no words but such as he owed to her inspiration?

Many years before Milton began to write *Paradise Lost* he had in a single sentence, which I should have liked to see written in characters of gold on the ceiling of the hall where we are assembled—itself long consecrate to literary pursuits and aspirations—unlocked the secret of the power supremely attested by that work and its sequel—'Sion's songs, to all true taste excelling.' 'He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem.' That elevation of soul, which when in his prose he is least himself, no pedantry of method, no adherence to the scholastic rule of responding by move upon move to every twist and turn of the adversary, no fierceness of partisanship and no fretfulness of temper, can enduringly hide—that elevation of soul which awes us in *Comus* and seems to waft to us 'of pure now purer air' from *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*—what else but this is the motive force of Milton's genius and the chief formative element in the growth and consummation of his style?

We must proceed yet one step further, if you will take it with me instead of resenting so needless a solicitation, and seek to reach the source of that elevation of soul which I believe I have rightly described as Milton's supreme poetic distinction. In his Commonplace Book, where the association of ideas is from the nature of the case absolutely unforced, and comes home to us all the more naturally, he transcribes a passage from an old Latin homily headed *De viro bono*—as if he had been thinking of those *bonshommes* of the early Middle Ages, who led lives of blameless purity in the midst of corruption, and for the inheritors of whose traditions Milton had so ardent a sympathy in their martyrdom. 'A good man,' we read, 'seems in a certain sense even to surpass the angels, in so far as, enwrapped in a weak and mortal body, he is engaged in a perpetual strife with the lusts of the flesh, yet aspires to lead a life resembling that of the celestials.' Such an angelic nature—I do not use the word lightly—was that of Milton, like his own Samson Agonistes:

> a person separate to God,
> Design'd for great exploits—

silent in childhood under the sense of the call that was coming to him, obedient in manhood when that call came, but even when

darkness had gathered round the renewed solitude of his declining years holding high in his hand the flaming sword which divine behest had placed in it. You have, I know, traced that divine indignation against ungodliness and impurity—an indignation incapable of feeling those hesitations, or consenting to those compromises which the overpowering sense of immediate responsibility forced on even the great ruler whom Milton reverenced as 'our chief of men'—you have traced that indignation through the vehement undercurrents which vary the exquisite beauty of his earlier verse, through the solemn reckoning which the poet of *Paradise Lost* seems to lay before us of the struggle of man's free will against the seductions of passion and of sense, to the 'sage'—that is, the ineffably wise and ineffably calm—rebuke, with which, in what I will not dare to designate as the sublimest passage of the sublime *Paradise Regained*, the pure lips of the Saviour dismiss the last and the strongest of human temptations—trust in the intellect of man. And you are aware how in the poet's last inspired utterance, in the *Samson Agonistes*, the indignation flames forth once more, to be quieted at last in the assurance that

> All is best, though we oft doubt
> What the unsearchable dispose
> Of Highest Wisdom brings about.

Even so. 'Thou hast put gladness in my heart: since the time that their corn, and wine, and oil increased.' The spirit of Milton's life and moral being—a spirit which was as little concerned with the cropping of hair as with the burning of books—but a spirit in which there must be something that is austere, something that disengages itself from the mists on the level, something too that is at war with a 'lubrique and adulterate age'—such is also the spirit of the writings on which rests his conscious claim to immortality. It overflows into his prose, it is the very essence of his poems. Thus, while criticism has tested its own powers by seeking to place itself in a right attitude towards the great poet's works—and I think that from Dryden onwards no true critic has ever failed at least to see that in dealing with them he was handling the gold of our literature—the English people and the English-speaking world to whom the inheritance of these works has descended are at one in cherishing them with grateful reverence. But the memory of the giver is inseparable from the glory of the gift; and upon you who have met together in the eve of the day when, three hundred years ago, John Milton became part of the life of this great city and this great nation, I call to rise in attestation of the honour due to his venerated name.

MILTON AS AN HISTORIAN

By C. H. FIRTH

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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Few people ever think of Milton as an historian. His interest in iistory is revealed to his readers by some similes in *Paradise Lost*,[1] ınd by those great passages in *Paradise Regained* embodying his :onception of Roman rule and Athenian culture,[2] but his historical vritings are of such slight importance compared to his pamphlets ınd his poetry, that they are almost forgotten. Yet Milton's *History ıf Britain* is worth studying. It elucidates both his political writings ınd his poems; like all that he wrote, it bears the impress of his :haracter, and is, therefore, of some biographical value; finally, the ɔook in itself is a work of learning and originality, worthy to be ·emembered in any account of the development of historical writing n England.

The full title of the book is 'The History of Britain, that part :specially now called England, from the first traditional Beginning :ontinued to the Norman Conquest. Collected out of the antientest ınd best authors thereof by John Milton.'[3] It was published in 1670 by James Allestry, as a quarto volume of about 350 pages, :osting five shillings. Eleven years later, in 1681, appeared a little ɔamphlet of twelve pages, entitled 'Mr. John Milton's Character ɔf the Long Parliament and the Assembly of Divines', which ɔurported to be a passage of the *History* suppressed by the licenser vhen the book was published, and is usually inserted in modern :ditions at the beginning of the third part of the *History*.[4]

The early history of Britain had long occupied Milton's mind. We can trace the progress of his studies and the growth of his ;chemes up to the moment when he began to write the book which ;ome four-and-twenty years later he gave to the world. The notes :ontained in his Common-place Book (written apparently in the nterval between leaving Cambridge in 1632 and visiting Italy in 1638) prove that he had carefully read the Chronicles of Holinshed,

[1] *Paradise Lost*, i. 351–5; x. 306–11. [2] *Paradise Regained*, Book iv.

[3] See Masson's *Life of Milton*, vi. 642–8; Arber, *The Term Catalogues*, i. 277, 443.

[4] Milton's *Prose Works*, ed. Mitford, iii. 94–101; Masson, vi. 906–12.

Stow, and Speed,[1] as well as several foreign historians.[2] It is clear that at that time the 'first traditional beginning' of British history attracted him most, and twice in the Latin verses written during the year 1639 he expressed his resolve to make these legends the subject of an epic poem. In the *Epitaphium Damonis* he declared that his future theme should be the coming of the Trojans, and the fortunes of the line of Brutus:

> 'Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per aequora puppes
> Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniae,
> Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
> Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;
> Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iógernen,
> Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
> Merlini dolus.'[3]

In the *Epistle to Mansus*, written a few months earlier, his chosen theme was to be the life of King Arthur:

> 'Si quando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
> Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
> Aut dicam invictae sociali foedere mensae
> Magnanimos Heroas et (O modo spiritus adsit)
> Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges.'[4]

Once more, in 1642, in his fourth pamphlet, he returned to his project. It was his purpose, he declared, to add to the fame of his native country by his writings. Hitherto its history had been meanly written. 'If the Athenians made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilful handling of monks and mechanics.'[5] To him it appeared that 'our own ancient stories' supplied fit matter for a poem, and he was deliberating over the

[1] *A Common-place Book of John Milton*, ed by A. H. Horwood, pp. 9, 10, 22, 25, 27, 31; cf. Masson, *Life of Milton*, i. 303, 645, 736, vi. 790.

[2] In Milton's *Apology for Smectymnuus*, published in 1642, he speaks of his early historical reading: 'Some years I spent in stories of those Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done and worthily spoken.' He explains that when he came to the period of Constantine the Great the history of the Church proved intolerably repulsive. *Prose Works*, i. 269, 318.

[3] *Epitaphium Damonis*, ll. 162-8; Masson, *Life of Milton*, ii. 84-94. Dated by Masson about October, 1639.

[4] *Mansus*, ll. 80-4; Masson, *Life*, i. 524.

[5] Milton is here referring to an observation made by Sallust: 'Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur, sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur.' —Sallust, *Catiline*, 8.

question 'what king or knight before the Conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero.'[1]

One doubt, however, was still unresolved: whether it was best to adopt for his poem the epic or the dramatic form, and which of the two would be 'more doctrinal and exemplary' to his countrymen. For some time a tragedy with a chorus, after the antique model, had seemed the form best suited for his purpose, and about 1640 he jotted down on paper a long list of possible subjects, with brief notes as to the way of treating them. Of these subjects, numbering ninety-nine in all, sixty-one were scriptural and thirty-eight from British history, and it is noticeable that the subjects of the British tragedies were chosen not from the legendary period, but the times between the Roman conquest and the year 1066.[2]

None of these various schemes was realized in the form in which it was first conceived. The tragedy of 'Adam Unparadised' became ultimately the epic of *Paradise Lost*; the epic on Arthur and the 'British Tragedies' developed into the prose *History of Britain.*

We can trace with tolerable accuracy the progress of the *History of Britain.* Milton began to write it after the conclusion of the series of pamphlets on divorce (March 1645), and after the close of the first Civil War (June 1646). It is probable that by the end of 1647 he had completed the first and second books, since the original introduction to the third book must have been written, judging from its tone, about the close of 1647 or the beginning of 1648. It is certain, on Milton's own evidence, that by March 1649, when he became Secretary to the Council of State, he had finished four out of the six books, and had brought the story down to the union of England under the rule of Egbert. He tells us that he then intended to relate the history of England from its first beginnings to his own day.[3] But this intention was never fulfilled. At some period after 1649 Milton wrote the fifth and the sixth books, which contain the story of the Danish invasions and the Norman conquest, but he proceeded no further. His blindness proved no doubt too great an obstacle.[4]

[1] Masson, ii. 361, 385; *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty. Prose Works*, i. 145.

[2] Ibid., 106; Aldis Wright, pp. 35, 36.

[3] He says: 'ad historiam gentis, ab ultima origine repetitam, ad haec usque tempora, si possem, perpetuo filo deducendam, me converti.' *Defensio Secunda*, Mitford's ed. of Milton's *Prose Works*, iv. 293.

[4] Milton probably resumed the *History of Britain* about the end of 1655, since he published his *Pro Se Defensio* in August 1655, and, having completed the Salmasius controversy, had time at his disposal. 'Being now quiet from State adversaries and public contests,' says Phillips, 'he had leisure again for his own studies and private designs.' In March 1657 he was inquiring about the cost of

The purpose which Milton set before himself when he began to write is clearly explained in the exordium to his *History*:

'The beginning of nations, those excepted of whom sacred books have spoken, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds of many succeeding ages, yea, periods of ages, either wholly unknown, or obscured and blemished with fables. . . . Of British affairs, from the first peopling of the island to the coming of Julius Caesar, nothing certain, either by tradition, history, or ancient fame, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious antiquaries been long rejected for a modern fable.

'Nevertheless, there being others, besides the first supposed author, men not unread, nor unlearned in antiquity, who admit that for approved story which the former explode for fiction; and seeing that ofttimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of something true, as what we read in poets of the flood, and giants little believed, till undoubted witnesses taught us that all was not feigned; I have therefore determined to bestow the telling over even of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use them judiciously.

'. . . I intend not with controversies and quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of history; much less to argue and debate long who were the first inhabitants, with what probabilities, what authorities each opinion hath been upheld; but shall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed most, with plain and lightsome brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read.'[1]

It is evident that for the moment the truth of the facts related was less important in Milton's eyes than the manner in which they were related. History meant to him, when he began, merely the art of story-telling. As he hinted, the early history of England had been lengthily and tediously told in the ponderous volumes of his predecessors. In Holinshed's *Chronicle* 202 pages are required to reach the battle of Hastings, out of which 22 pages are devoted to the legendary period before the landing of Caesar. Speed expends

editions of Byzantine historians, which is evidence that his mind was once more turned to historical studies (see Masson, *Life of Milton*, v. 225, 284).

There is also another piece of evidence. On pp. 273, 287 of his *History* he refers to 'the Chronicle attributed to John Brompton, a Yorkshire Abbot, but rather of some nameless author living under Edward III or later'. This chronicle was first published in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores* in 1652 as 'Chronicon Johannis Brompton Abbatis Jorvalensis'. Milton no doubt used the edition of Simeon of Durham included in the same collection. He often refers to that author in the two latter books of the *History* and towards the end of Book IV.

[1] *History of Britain*, ed. 1670, pp. 1–3.

411 pages and 41 pages respectively on those two divisions of his subject.[1] Milton, on the other hand, contrives to cover the legendary period in 30 pages, and to complete his whole story in 308 pages, and these are quarto pages containing not much more than three hundred words, while the pages of Holinshed and Speed are folios printed in double columns. One page of Holinshed contains as many words as four pages of Milton, and in lightness of touch, as well as brevity, Milton as a story-teller exceeds either Holinshed, Speed, or Stow.

The legends which formed the staple of early British history had already been told and retold by many Elizabethan and Jacobean poets. Spenser in the second book of the *Faerie Queene* had versified in some six hundred lines the story of the landing of Brutus and the fortunes of his descendants up to Uther Pendragon.[2] Milton quotes a stanza from his version.[3] Drayton interspersed the thirty 'Songs' of his *Polyolbion*, wherever a legend could be localized, with narratives of British or Saxon monarchs which hill tells to hill and river certifies to river. In the first song of all the Dart claims the royalty of all the streams in the West because Brutus landed at her mouth, 'which now the envious world doth slander as a dream.'[4] It is to Drayton and Spenser that Milton alludes when he recites his story of the wrestling match between Corineus and the giant Goemagog, terming it 'a grand fable though dignified by our best poets'.[5]

Minor poets, too, had sought the same inexhaustible storehouse. Higgins, in his additions to *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1574), Warner in *Albion's England* (1586), Heywood in *Troja Britannica* (1609), and Slatyer in *Palaeo-Albion* (1621), all had found material for their art in the mythical history of Britain. Nor had the dramatists, from the author of *Gorboduc* to the author of *Lear* and *Cymbeline*, been behindhand in employing plots from the same source in tragedies or chronicle plays. Whether Milton believed these stories or not, their familiarity and their attractiveness made it impossible for him to pass them over in silence.

[1] The computation is based on the edition of Holinshed of 1586, and the 1632 edition of Speed. Milton, as his Common-place Book shows, used this edition of Holinshed and the 1631 edition of Stow.

[2] Book II, canto x.

[3] Ibid., x, l. 212; *History of Britain*, p. 16.

[4] *Polyolbion*, ed. 1613, p. 8. Drayton is a convinced believer in the Brutus legend. Selden, in the notes, argues for it 'as an advocate for the Muse', but not 'if alleged for my own opinion'. See pp. 17, 93, 162, and the address 'from the author of the Illustrations' prefixed.

[5] *History of Britain*, p. 13; *Faerie Queene*, II. x. 92; *Polyolbion*, p. 12.

Moreover, they had a great attraction for Milton himself, even if his judgement rejected them as fictitious. In *Comus* he had already utilized the story of Sabrina, the 'virgin daughter of Locrine', who gave her name to the Severn, and he now told it once more in prose.[1] The space devoted in the *History of Britain* to the story of Lear and Cordelia is probably a tribute to Shakespeare, but the two pages devoted to kings Brennus and Belinus must be explained by the fact that they were to have been personages in the intended epic.[2]

It is not only by his treatment of the mythical period of English history that Milton's interest in the legendary and anecdotic side of history is revealed. It appears in the later books as well as the earlier, and the introduction of certain episodes or the space devoted to them may often be explained by their inclusion in the list of suggested subjects for his 'British Tragedies'. The story of Queen Eadburga, the vision of King Edwin, Athelstan's murder of his brother and his repentance, are cases in point.[3] But the most remarkable instance is the narrative of King Edgar's marriage with Elfrida, and of another love adventure of that king's which Milton himself styles 'fitter for a novel than a history'.[4] 'Edgar slaying Ethelwold for false play in wooing' had once seemed a good plot for a tragedy. 'Wherein,' noted Milton, 'may be set out his pride and lust, which he thought to cloak by favouring monks and building monasteries; also the disposition of woman in Elfrida towards her husband.'[5]

Another episode treated at somewhat disproportionate length is that of the murder of Aelfred, the second son of Ethelred the Unready, which some authorities attributed to the treachery of Earl Godwin. The explanation of the space given to the story, and of the elaboration with which the statements of conflicting authors about it are set forth, appears to be that Milton once intended to make it the starting-point of a classical tragedy. The first scene of the tragedy of Harold, he had noted, 'may begin with the ghost of Alfred . . . slain in cruel manner by Godwin, Harold's father, his mother and brother dissuading him.'[6]

Here and elsewhere throughout the *History of Britain* the influence of Holinshed's *Chronicle* is plainly perceptible. Alike in the anecdotes inserted and the anecdotes omitted, Milton usually

[1] *Comus*, ll. 824–937; *History of Britain*, p. 15.
[2] Ibid., pp. 17, 22.
[3] Ibid., pp. 184, 224, 289.
[4] Ibid., p. 239.
[5] Masson, *Life of Milton*, ii. 114.
[6] Ibid., p. 114; *History of Britain*, p. 274.

follows in the track of Holinshed (or rather of Abraham Fleming, who wrote that part of Holinshed's compilation). For instance, under the reign of Edward the Confessor Milton relates the stories of the divine judgement upon Godwin, the soldierly death of Siward, and the prophetic vision of Edward the Confessor;[1] all these are to be found in Holinshed, but none of them in Speed or Stow. Similarly, Milton omits the story of Alfred and the cakes, which is omitted by Holinshed though it is told both by Stow and Speed. In the first book of the *History of Britain* the author's obligations to Holinshed are still more evident, nor is it by a mere coincidence that the first sentence of one is an echo of the second sentence in the other. 'The beginning of nations, those excepted of whom sacred books have spoken, is to this day unknown,' writes Milton. 'The original in manner of all nations is doubtful,' wrote the chronicler, 'and even the same for the most part fabulous, that always excepted, which we find in the Holy Scriptures.'[2]

On the other hand, Milton's was too vigorous and too independent a mind to adopt implicitly the conclusions of any previous writer. He had read Stow and Speed as well as Holinshed, and seems from his notes to have compared their narratives. At a later stage he read what original authorities he could obtain for the period from the coming of the Romans to the Norman Conquest, and tested the statements of the chroniclers by their aid. Many statements and theories which the chroniclers had accepted he dismissed as unfounded or improbable when he came to write.

Holinshed (or rather Abraham Fleming) begins the history of Britain, about the time of the flood, with the rule of Samothes, the sixth son of Japhet, and his sons, and the subjugation of the island about three hundred years later by the giant Albion, the son of Neptune. Milton, with Stow and Speed, rejects this story, calling it 'an outlandish figment', and condemning 'those of our own writers who thought they had done nothing unless with all circumstance they tell us when and who first set foot upon this island.'[3]

Holinshed and Stow both accept with implicit faith the Brutus legend. The latter intercalates in his narrative 'A briefe Proofe of Brute', showing how many learned men affirm this history, and denounces Polydore Vergil for denying it. This man, he complains, 'with one dash of a pen cashiereth three score princes with all their

[1] *History of Britain*, pp. 290, 291, 298.

[2] Ibid., p. 1. Holinshed, ed. 1587; Bk. I, p. 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 4.

histories and historians; yea, and some ancient laws also.'[1] On the other hand, Speed states, with convincing clearness and great elaboration, the arguments against the legend. 'As France,' he concludes, 'hath cast off their Francio king Priamus his son, Scotland their Scotia king Pharoes' daughter, Denmark their Danus, Ireland their Hiberus, and other countries their demigods, so let Britaines likewise with them disclaim their Brute.'[2]

Milton endeavours to hold the balance between absolute credulity and complete rejection. He will not follow Speed the whole way:

> 'Of Brutus and his line with the whole progeny of kings, to the entrance of Julius Caesar, we cannot so easily be discharged; descents of ancestry, long continued, laws and exploits not seeming to be borrowed or devised, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression; defended by many, denied utterly by few. For what though Brutus and the whole Trojan pretence were yielded up . . . yet those old and inborn names of successive kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what so long hath been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.
>
> 'For these, and those causes above mentioned, that which hath received approbation from many, I have chosen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps aloof from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient writers from books more ancient, I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of story.'[3]

Another series of legends clustered round the introduction of Christianity into Britain. It was said that Simon Zelotes or Joseph of Arimathaea had preached Christianity in this country during the reign of Nero, and that about the year 177 when Lucius was king of Britain the whole island accepted the faith. A letter of Pope Eleutherius to the king was quoted in support of the facts; Lucius was canonized as the first British saint, and it became the accepted belief of English historians that the British nation was the first to make public profession of Christianity. Holinshed, Stow, and even the critical Speed, with some differences as to the details, all accepted these stories. Milton relates them, but he does so with obvious scepticism, and concludes: 'Of these matters, variously written and believed, ecclesiastic historians can best determine: as the best of them do, with little credit given to such uncertain relations.'[4]

[1] Stow's *Chronicle*, ed. 1631, p. 6 and preface. [2] Speed, pp. 14–20.

[3] *History of Britain*, p. 6.

[4] Ibid., p. 80; Holinshed, i. 37, 51; Speed, pp. 73-81, 103; Stow, p. 38. Fuller, *Church History*, ed. 1655, p. 9. Milton was indifferent to this claim,

Milton shows the same scepticism about the popular belief that Constantine the Great was of British descent. 'There goes a fame,' he says, 'and that seconded by most of our own historians, though not those the ancientest, that Constantine was born in this island, his mother Helena the daughter of Coilus, a British prince.' He proceeds to point out a few improbabilities, and to summarize the evidence of the Roman authorities against it. Here again he is more difficult to satisfy than Speed, who accepts the tradition, quoting, in answer to unbelievers, the opinion of 'Time's chief secretary, the learned Camden' in its favour.[1]

Milton's treatment of the Arthurian legend is a still more interesting example of the progress of scepticism. The three chroniclers who were the standard historians of Milton's time all doubted the details of the legend, but believed that Arthur was a real king who gained genuine victories. 'Of this Arthur,' says Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 'many things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authority that confirmeth the same; but surely as may be thought he was some worthy man, and by all likelihood a great enemy to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen, which are the very Britons indeed, have him in famous remembrance.' Then at great length he relates the legendary life and exploits of the hero.[2]

Stow is briefer, but adopts much the same position. 'Of this Arthur there be many fabulous reports, but certain he was (saith William of Malmesbury) a prince more worthy to have advancement by true histories than false fables, being the only prop and upholder of his country.' He supports the truth of the story by identifying the sites of Mon Badonicus and the Castle of Camelot, and describing the remains found there.[3] The critical Speed quotes Malmesbury

holding it a greater glory that Wicliffe, the beginner of the Reformation, was an Englishman: 'England having had this grace and honour from God to be the first that should set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth, and blow the first evangelic trumpet to the nations.' *Of Reformation, Prose Works*, i. 5. Archbishop Parker firmly believed in the Lucius legend, and also did Cardinal Pole; Strype's *Parker*, i. 139, 467; iii. 247.

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 89; Speed, p. 156; Holinshed, pp. 62, 63. Gibbon summarizes the question in a sentence: 'This tradition, unknown to the contemporaries of Constantine, was invented in the darkness of the monasteries, was embellished by Jeffrey of Monmouth and the writers of the twelfth century, has been defended by our antiquarians of the last age, and is seriously related in the ponderous history of England compiled by Mr. Carte' (vol. i, p. 147).—*Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, p. 397.

[2] Holinshed, i. 90-3.

[3] Stow, pp. 53-5.

too, and condemns Geoffrey of Monmouth for discrediting the truth about Arthur by his toys and tales. 'Of his person,' he concludes, 'we make no doubt, though his acts have been written with too lavish a pen.'[1]

Milton is much more thoroughgoing. All that happened about that time is doubtful. 'The age whereof we now write hath had the ill hap more than any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharged with all the idle fancies of posterity.' He introduces Arthur by describing him as a British leader, 'more renowned in songs and romances than true stories.' With real insight he dismisses at once the mediaeval fictions and examines the account of Nennius as the only evidence of any real value:

'Who Arthur was, and whether ever any such reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason. For the monk of Malmesbury and others, whose credit hath swayed most with the learneder sort, we may well perceive to have known no more of this Arthur five hundred years past, nor of his doings, than we now living; and what they had to say, transcribed out of Nennius, a very trivial writer yet extant, which hath already been related; or out of a British book, the same which he of Monmouth set forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than six hundred years after the days of Arthur, of whom (as Sigebert in his chronicle confesses) all other histories were silent, both foreign and domestic, except only that fabulous book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old legends and cathedral regests. But he who can accept of legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnished with two only necessaries, leisure and belief; whether it be the writer, or he that shall read.'[2]

'As to Arthur,' he continues, 'no less is in doubt who was his father,' and then proceeds to demolish Uther Pendragon: 'And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that victory at Badon-hill were his or no is uncertain.' All he will concede is that, 'whether by Arthur won, or whensoever,' that battle 'seems indeed to have given a most undoubted and important blow to the Saxons and to have stopped their proceedings for a good while after.'[3]

When we compare Milton's treatment of this with that of Holinshed, Stow, and Speed, his superiority is evident. Alter the phraseology, and he might have been writing in the nineteenth rather than the seventeenth century. For his conclusions are roughly those

[1] Speed, p. 271.
[2] *History of Britain* p. 122.
[3] Ibid., pp. 119, 122, 124.

of modern scholars, and his reasoning practically that of a scientific historian.[1]

Here, as in many other places, Milton's *History* helps to explain his poetry. One of the reasons for the abandonment of the intended epic on the story of Arthur was that his studies had convinced him there was no more truth in it than there was in the story of Brutus. When he referred later to the Arthurian legends he was careful to emphasize their fictitious character. He speaks of

> 'What resounds
> In fable or romance of Uther's son,
> Begirt with British and Armoric knights':

or of

> 'Ladies that seemed
> Fairer than feigned of old, or fabled since
> Of faery damsels met in forest wide
> By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
> Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.'[2]

It was not in these legends of 'fabled knights' and 'battles feigned' that he could find the substance of his 'heroic song',[3] nor was it through them that he could convey the ethical teaching which it was the office of the poet to give.

As we have already pointed out, Milton's *History* is not entirely a compilation from the standard historians of his day, but is also based upon a considerable study of the original sources accessible when he wrote. He begins by endeavouring to form an opinion of the value of the authorities for each particular period taken collectively, and supplements this by incidental estimates of individual authors.

For the legends of the prae-Roman period he says at the outset: 'The principal author is well known to be Geoffrey of Monmouth; what he was and whence his authority, who in his age or before him have delivered the same matter, and such like general discourses, will better stand in a treatise by themselves.'[4] The treatise was never written, but we can gather Milton's opinion of Geoffrey's credibility from his rejection of his statements, and from disparaging references to his fables and untruths.[5] Authentic history, Milton declares at the close of his first book, begins with the coming of the Romans.

[1] Hodgkin, *Political History of England*, i. 104–5, 107; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, i. 124–5, 135.

[2] *Paradise Lost*, i. 579; *Paradise Regained*, ii. 357.

[3] *Paradise Lost*, ix. 27–40.

[4] *History of Britain*, p. 6.

[5] Ibid., pp. 24, 28, 47, 54, 79, 84, 103, 144.

'By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true colours and shapes. For albeit Caesar, whose authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who taxed him of misrepresenting in his Commentaries, yea, in his Civil War against Pompey, much more, may we think, in the British affairs, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted; yet now in such variety of good authors, we hardly can miss, from one hand or other, to be sufficiently informed, as of things past so long ago.'[1]

'... The only authors we have of British matters while the power of Rome reached hither' are Roman authors 'who in the Latin tongue have laid together as much and perhaps more than was required to a history of Britain.' The story they tell is 'a story of much truth', and for the first hundred years and more it may be 'collected without much labour'. For the most part 'little seems to be required above transcription', although something may be added by diligence and explained by the arrangement of the facts. Towards the end of the period, however, 'the Roman empire declining apace, good historians growing scarce or lost, have left us little but fragments for many years ensuing.'[2]

When the Roman empire fell, darkness settled down again; learning and history, and even language itself, decayed with it:

'Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of authors; near enough to the things they write, as in their own country, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age; in expression barbarous, and to say how judicious, I suspend awhile: this we must expect; in civil matters to find them dubious relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term the Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other matters of religion, blind, astonished, and struck with superstition as with a planet; in one word, Monks. Yet these guides, where can be had no better, must be followed; in gross, it may be true enough; in circumstances each man, as his judgement gives him, may reserve his faith, or bestow it.'[3]

One of these monks was Bede, the chief authority, says Milton, for the period from the coming of the Saxons to 731, but even he could not make it intelligible:

'Beda surceased to write. Out of whom chiefly has been gathered, since the Saxon's arrival, such as hath been delivered, a scattered story picked out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work, from among his many legends of visions and miracles; toward the

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 29. [2] Ibid., pp. 31, 33, 34. [3] Ibid., p. 97.

latter end so bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a calendar rather than a history, taken up for the most part with succession of kings, and a computation of years, yet those hard to be reconciled with the Saxon annals. Their actions we read of were most commonly wars, but for what cause waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their strength and violence we understand, of their wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing, the rest superstition and monastical affectation; kings one after another leaving their kingly charge, to run their heads fondly into a monk's cowl; which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him.'[1]

Yet whatever Bede's defects might be he was a better guide than the authors on whom it was necessary to depend for the following period:

'From hence to the Danish invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of Beda. Left only to obscure and blockish chronicles; whom Malmesbury, and Huntingdon (for neither they nor we had better authors of those times), ambitious to adorn the history, make no scruple ofttimes, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of their own; them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain journal. Yet William of Malmesbury must be acknowledged, both for style and judgement, to be by far the best writer of them all; but what labour is to be endured turning over volumes of rubbish in the rest, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer note, with all their monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough of the things they register. This travail, rather than not to know at once what may be known of our ancient story, sifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour.'[2]

At intervals during the later part of his narrative Milton characterizes or criticizes particular authors more fully. Malmesbury, though the best, had other defects besides those mentioned. 'He refused not the authority of ballads for want of better' and inserted stories he confessed 'to be sung in old songs not read in warrantable authors'.[3] Besides, he was too much biased in favour of monks and kings who loved monks, and against the secular clergy. Henry of Huntingdon was not to be trusted unless he was confirmed by some other authority: 'little credit is to be placed in Huntingdon single.' He was too imaginative. 'His manner is to comment upon the Annal text' (that is, the *Saxon Chronicle*) and to add fictitious details of the

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 172. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., pp. 224, 229.

events recorded 'describing the manner of those battles and encounters, which they who compare and can judge of books may be confident he never found in any current author whom he had to follow'.[1]

Of the value of the 'Saxon Annals', as Milton terms the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he has a very just conception. 'These I take . . . to be the chief foundation of our story, the ground and basis upon which the monks in later times gloss and comment at their pleasure.' But to understand them and make out the real significance of the Annals was a very difficult task. Sometimes their record of events was 'without coherence of sense or story'. Alfred's wars with the Danes 'are set down so perplexedly by the Saxon annalist, ill gifted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spoken of whether meant of the Danes or of the Saxons'. For instance, it is impossible to say who won the battle of Merton, 'so darkly do the Saxon Annals deliver their meaning with more than wonted infancy.' Poetical passages, such as the ballads on the battles of Brunanburh and Maldon completely baffled and somewhat enraged Milton. Of the former he says: 'The Saxon annalist, wont to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his argument, and overcharged, runs on a sudden into such extravagant fancies and metaphors as bear him quite beside the scope of being understood. . . . I shall only sum up what of him I can attain in usual language.'[2]

Milton endeavoured to supplement the scantiness of the English sources by the help of foreign historians, but got little satisfaction from them. He searched the *Rerum Danicarum Historia* of J. J. Pontanus for information about the Danish invasion, but found nothing of any value. As to the ninth century 'of all these terrible landings and devastations by the Danes . . . or of their leaders whether kings, dukes, or earls, the Danish history of best credit saith nothing; so little wit or conscience they had to leave any memory of their brutish rather than manly actions'. As to the tenth century: 'The Danish history, at least their latest and diligentest historian, as neither from the first landing of the Danes, in the reign of West Saxon Brithric, so now again contributed nothing; busied more than enough to make out the bare names and successors of their uncertain kings, and their small actions at home; unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own annals.'[3]

[1] *History of Britain*, pp. 122, 175, 211. [2] Ibid., pp. 203, 211, 212, 225.
[3] Ibid., pp. 179, 192, 244.

When Milton turned to the Scottish historians for facts about the invasion of the Picts and Scots the result was still more disappointing, for he found nothing but pure fiction. George Buchanan, he complains, in his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 'departs not much from the fables of his predecessor Boethius' (i. e. Hector Boece); 'with no less exactness of particular circumstances he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary inroads of the Scots and Picts into Britain, as if they had but yesterday happened, their order of battle, manner of fight, number of slain, articles of peace, things whereof Gildas and Beda are utterly silent, authors to whom the Scotch writers have none to cite comparable in antiquity; no more therefore to be believed for bare assertions, however quaintly dressed, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he varies most from authentic story. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily called historians, or the fond zeal of praising their nations above truth, hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their history, or magnify their country.' It was amusing when 'our neighbour historian' gravely reprehended Geoffrey of Monmouth and others 'for fabling in the deeds of Arthur; yet what he writes thereof himself as of better credit, shows not whence he had but from those fables which he seems content to believe in part on condition that the Scots and Picts may be thought to have assisted Arthur in all his wars and achievements; whereof appears as little ground by credible story as of that which he most counts for fabulous'.[1]

Another modern author of whom Milton made constant use was Camden. Whenever the locality of a battle had to be fixed, or the modern name of a place given, it was naturally to Camden's *Britannia* that he turned. The spot where Caesar landed, the ford by which he crossed the Thames, the site of the camp of Caractacus, the position of the Roman wall, and other topographical facts mentioned were all derived from the same source. These questions of identification did not interest Milton much; he contented himself with briefly giving the necessary minimum of information on such points without interrupting the narrative by discussions. If they could not be identified he preferred to omit them. He did not care, he said, 'to wrinkle the smoothness of history with the rugged names of places unknown better harped at in Camden and other chorographers'.[2]

[1] *History of Britain*, pp. 103, 126, 185.

[2] Ibid., pp. 36, 45, 56, 77, 78, 83, 160, 178. Milton also refers to Spelman's *Concilia*, p. 143.

Milton's method of combining and comparing the statements he found in the various authorities he used deserves notice. At the outset he had declared 'I intend not with controversies and quotations to interrupt the smooth course of history.'[1] But these words referred, as the context shows and his later practice proves, merely to the legendary period covered in the first book. He declined to waste labour 'in computing or collating years and chronologies' when he was dealing with the reigns of the progeny of Brutus, because it was absurd 'to be vainly curious about the time and circumstances of things, whereof the substance is so much in doubt'.[2] In the later books where his authorities were more trustworthy and he was dealing with historical events, it was worth while to discuss dates, to point out discrepancies, and to attempt to reconcile statements. The task, he admitted, was laborious, but he did not shrink from it. 'This travail, rather than not to know at once what may be known of our ancient story, sifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour.'[3]

Milton's favourite method, in the later books, is to place the different stories of his authorities side by side, and conclude by saying which account seems most probable. For instance, in relating the division of England between Canute and Edmund Ironside, he summarizes first Malmesbury's account, then that of Huntingdon, finally that of Matthew of Westminster. As to the accession of Edward the Confessor he gives the versions of Huntingdon, Malmesbury, and Brompton in succession, prefacing them with the remark, 'It may seem a wonder that our historians, if they deserve the name, should in a matter so remarkable and so near their own time so much differ.' He inclines to accept William of Malmesbury's version. In another instance, dealing with Harold's visit to William of Normandy, he sets side by side the statements of five authors, Malmesbury, Ingulf, Eadmer, Simeon of Durham, and Matthew Paris. 'So variously are these things reported' that he finds it impossible to decide.[4]

Incidentally he criticizes with some acuteness Ingulf's story, for, like seventeenth-century historians in general, he accepted his Chronicle of Croyland as a genuine authority. Ingulf had said that Edward the Confessor sent Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to acquaint Duke William with his intention of bequeathing the English crown to him. 'The former part may be true that King Edward upon such considerations had sent one or other, but Archbishop Robert was fled the land, and dead many years before.'[5] In the same way Milton

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 3. [2] Ibid., p. 29. [3] Ibid., p. 173.
[4] Ibid., pp. 265, 278, 295. [5] Ibid., p. 296.

rejects a statement of Simeon of Durham's which describes Uthred, son of the Earl of Northumberland, as fighting against Malcolm of Scotland: 'Here Simeon the relater seems to have committed some mistake, having slain Uthred by Canute two years before and set Eric in his place: Eric therefore it needs must be, not Uthred, who managed this war against the Scots'.[1]

Milton's wide reading showed him that some of the statements he found in his authorities were merely conventional imitations of earlier historians. Speaking of the omens which accompanied William's landing on the English shore, he says, 'These things are related of Alexander and Caesar, and I doubt thence borrowed by the monks to inlay their story.'[2] At other times his good sense prevented him from believing implicitly what others had been content to accept on authority. Holinshed and Speed, for instance, repeat as a fact Malmesbury's statement that the English in Edgar's time owed their vices to 'the too much resort of strangers' to the country, learning rudeness of 'the outlandish Saxons', daintiness of the Flemings, and drunkenness of the Danes. 'I doubt,' comments Milton, 'these vices are as naturally home-bred here as in any of those countries.'[3]

Yet Milton, to use his own phrase, was not 'of too strict an incredulity', and tells us a few lines further, on the authority of Ingulf, 'This year died Swarling, a monk of Croyland, in the hundred and forty-second year of his age, and another soon after him in the hundred and fifteenth; in that fenny and waterish air the more remarkable.'[4]

To conclude this discussion of Milton's treatment of his authorities and his relation to previous historians.

It seems plain that Professor Masson went too far when he described the *History of Britain* as 'not a work of real research or criticism', but 'a mere popular compilation of such matter as was easily at hand'.[5] Milton aimed higher and achieved more than this verdict admits. There is some attempt both at research and at criticism in the book. Milton frequently shows a very true conception of the value of the evidence at his disposal, as well as the independence of judgement one naturally expects from him.

The style also possesses the individuality which marks all Milton's writings. The earlier books are more carefully finished than the later ones. In books four and six Milton seems somewhat weary of his task; he is less attentive to the arrangement of his matter

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 269.
[2] Ibid., p. 303.
[3] Ibid., p. 235.
[4] Ibid., p. 235.
[5] *Life of Milton*, vi. 644.

or the effective statement of what he has to say. In the early part of the *History* he relates a story or describes a scene with a certain deliberate care—not only with touches that reveal the poet, but in the more highly-wrought passages with a certain sententious brevity entirely unlike the fervid and unrestrained diction of his first prose pamphlets. The explanation of this change of style is to be found in Milton's theory of the manner in which history should be written.

His views on the nature of historical writing in general are set forth in two passages in the *History*.

Every age, Milton hints, obtained the historians it deserved, for there was a close relation between the deeds and the written records of the deeds. In certain times, what happened was hardly worth recording. 'Ofttime we see that wise men, and of best ability, have forborn to write the acts of their own days, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all history, the persons and their actions were; who, either by fortune or some rude election, had attained, as a sore judgement and ignominy upon the land, to have chief sway in managing the commonwealth.'[1] Even then there were historians of a sort. 'It is true that in obscurest times, by shallow and unskilful writers, the indistinct noise of many battles and devastations of many kingdoms, overrun and lost, hath come to our ears.' But in such periods of decay true history was hardly possible; and good historians were discouraged. 'When the esteem of science and liberal study waxes low in the commonwealth, we may presume that also there all civil virtue and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then eloquence, as it were consorted in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of virtue, corrupts also and fades; at least resigns her office of relating to illiterate and frivolous historians, such as the persons themselves both deserve, and are best pleased with; whilst they want either the understanding to choose better or the innocence to dare invite the examining and searching style of an intelligent and faithful writer to the survey of their unsound exploits, better befriended by obscurity than fame.'[2]

On the other hand, 'worthy deeds are not often destitute of worthy relaters, as, by a certain fate, great acts and great eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same ages.' For great men knew that history was necessary to their greatness.

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 32.

'He whose just and true valour uses the necessity of war and dominion not to destroy, but to prevent destruction, to bring in liberty against tyrants, law and civility among barbarous nations, knowing that when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer Time or Detraction, wisely conscious of this his want, as well as of his worth not to be forgotten or concealed, honours and hath recourse to the aid of eloquence, his friendliest and best supply; by whose immortal record his noble deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixed and durable against the force of years and generations, he fails not to continue through all posterity, over Envy, Death and Time also victorious.'[1]

As to the manner in which the historian should relate the deeds he undertook to record, Milton set forth his views in two letters to a young foreign scholar, Henry de Brass.[2]

The model for all historical writers was Sallust. The man who appreciated Sallust had made no small progress in the art of history.[3] 'Dicam libere . . . Sallustium cuivis Latino historico me quidem anteferre, quae etiam constans fere Antiquorum sententia fuit. Habet suas laudes tuus Tacitus; sed eas meo quidem iudicio maximas, quod Sallustium nervis omnibus sit imitatus.' He proceeds then to explain his view of what Sallust meant when he said 'facta dictis exaequanda sunt'.

'Ego vero sic existimo; qui gestas res dignas digne scripserit, eum animo non minus magno rerumque usu praeditum scribere oportet, quam is qui eas gesserit; ut vel maximas pari animo comprehendere atque metiri possit, et comprehensas sermone puro atque casto graviterque narrare: nam ut ornate non admodum laboro; Historicum enim non Oratorem requiro. . . . Addiderim et illud Sallustianum, qua in re ipse Catonem maxime laudavit, posse multa paucis absolvere; id quod sine acerrimo iudicio, atque etiam temperantia quadam neminem posse arbritror. Sunt multi in quibus vel sermonis elegantiam vel congestarum rerum copiam non desideres; qui brevitatem cum copia coniunxerit, id est, qui multa paucis absolverit, princeps meo iudicio Latinorum est Sallustius. Has ego virtutes Historico inesse putem oportere, qui facta dictis exaequaturum se speret.'[4]

This 'Sallustiana brevitas' as Quintilian terms it, Milton endeavours to imitate, not only in certain highly-wrought passages, but in the pregnant or picturesque phrases interspersed through his narrative.

[1] *History of Britain*, pp. 31–3.

[2] *Ioannis Miltoni Angli Epistolarum Familiarum Liber Unus*, 1674, pp. 53, 58; and *Prose Works*, v. 401, 405. See Masson, *Life of Milton*, v. 363, 379. The letters are dated July 15 and December 16, 1657.

[3] 'Sciat se haud parum in re Historica profecisse, cui placeat Sallustius.'

[4] *Epistolae*, pp 54–5.

Take, for instance, his summary of the results of the Roman Conquest. 'Of the Romans we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beat us into some civility'.[1] Or his comment on the attempt of Ethelred to buy off the Danes. 'The king and his courtiers . . . send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable peace, every time still dearer (for the Danes knew how to milk such easy kine).' Or his description of the incursions of the Danes 'sallying forth out of their ships as out of savage dens' to plunder, and then 'like wild beasts glutted returned to their caves'. To vary the phrase in a second case he says 'or rather sea monsters to their water-stables'.[2]

The same quality marks some of Milton's characters of persons. He describes Carausius as usurping the government because he 'was grown at length too great a delinquent to be less than an emperor', and Vortigern as a tyrant who was 'yet of the people much beloved, because his vices sorted so well with theirs'.[3] At times this attempt to put much meaning into few words produces obscurity. At other times it results in something like conceits; as when he describes the Britons 'with a stern compassion' slaying their wives and children to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Romans, or a Dane 'with a pious impiety' killing Archbishop Alfage in order to put an end to his sufferings.[4]

In one passage of his letters to Henry de Brass Milton lays down another principle which should be observed in historical writing. 'Crebras etiam sententias, et iudicia de rebus gestis interiecta prolixe nollem, ne, interrupta rerum serie, quod Politici Scriptoris munus est Historicus invadat; qui si in consiliis explicandis factisque enarrandis, non suum ingenium aut coniecturam, sed veritatem potissimum sequitur, suarum profecto partium satagit.' But he is far from following this counsel himself. It is true he does not insert many general reflections, but there are a few. On the Britons calling the Saxons to help them against the Picts and Scots he observes: 'So much do men through impatience count ever that the heaviest which they bear at present, and to remove the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in evil also were acceptable'.[5] When he relates the repentance of Canute and his resolve to make amends to his people, he adds: 'It is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attained the end of

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 49.
[2] Ibid., pp. 252, 255.
[3] Ibid., pp. 86, 109.
[4] Ibid., pp. 76, 256.
[5] Ibid., p. 110.

their ambitions and desires; then to think God appeased by seeking to bribe him with a share, however large, of their illgotten spoils; and then, lastly, to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong.'[1]

But generally Milton's comments are not so much to the point . on the contrary, they are as far away from it as possible. He inserts reflections of every kind. Some are references to contemporary manners. When he describes the ancient Britons as 'painting their own skins with several portraitures of beast, bird, or flower', he adds, 'a vanity which hath not yet left us, removed only from the skin to the skirt, behung now with as many coloured ribbands and gewgaws'.[2] Others contain references to contemporary politics. Having to mention the expedition sent by a Northumbrian king to Ireland, he introduces an allusion to the Irish massacres in 1641: 'A harmless nation, saith Beda, and ever friendly to the English; in both which they seem to have left a posterity much unlike them at this day.'[3] Milton's comments continually remind us that he held very strong views about the subjection of women. He is as bitter against 'the monstrous regiment of women' as John Knox himself. Cordelia's nephews rebel against her in spite of her virtues, 'not bearing that a kingdom should be governed by a woman,' and Cartismandua is dethroned by the Britons, not because of her crimes, but on account of 'the uncomeliness of their subjection to the monarchy of a woman'.[4] When he relates, after Holinshed, the legend of Martia, wife of King Guitheline, who is said 'to have excelled so much in wisdom as to venture upon a new institution of laws', the story seems so monstrous that he has to rationalize it away. 'In the minority of her son she had the rule; and then, as may be supposed, brought forth those laws, not herself, for laws are masculine births, but by the advice of her sagest counsellors; and therein she might do virtuously, since it befel her to supply the nonage of her son, else nothing more awry from the law of God and nature than that a woman should give laws to men.'[5]

Perhaps the most curious example of Milton's prejudice against women is that afforded by his treatment of Boadicea. Previous historians had regarded the warrior-queen as a national heroine; he represents her merely as a virago, 'a distracted woman with as mad a crew at her heels.' Dion Cassius puts a long speech into Boadicea's mouth, which Holinshed and Speed reproduce at length. Milton

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 272.
[2] Ibid., p. 48.
[3] Ibid., p. 167; cf. p. 82
[4] Ibid., pp. 22, 60.
[5] Ibid., p. 25

very properly rejects this oration. 'I affect not set speeches in a history, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they are written, nor then, unless worth rehearsal; and to invent such, though eloquently, as some historians have done, is an abuse of posterity, raising in them that read other conceptions of those times and persons than were true. Much less, therefore, do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy out tedious orations without decorum, though in their authors composed ready to my hand.'[1] The unseemliness of the oration consists in this, that Dion and also Tacitus put into the mouth of Boadicea, besides 'a deal of other fondness', the statement that 'with the Britons it was usual for a woman to be their leader'. Indignantly Milton observes: 'This they do out of vanity, hoping to embellish and set out their history with the strangeness of our manners, not caring in the meanwhile to brand us with the rankest note of barbarism, as if in Britain women were men and men women.'[2]

Milton's prejudices appear still more strongly and frequently in his references to Church matters. Of set purpose he avoided the ecclesiastical side of British and Saxon history as far as possible, 'not professing to relate of those matters more than what mixes aptly with civil affairs.'[3] The records of political events were often an arid catalogue of names and dates, tragical deaths of princes of whom nothing else was known, and battles without reason or result. 'Such bickerings to recount, met often in these our writers,' complains Milton, 'what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites, or crows flocking and fighting in the air?'[4]

But he deliberately refused to amplify these meagre annals by drawing upon the fund of information which his authorities supplied about the religious life of the times. 'I am sensible how wearisome it may likely be to read of so many and bare and reasonless actions, so many names of kings one after another acting little more than mute persons in a scene. What would it be to have inserted the long bead-roll of archbishops, bishops, abbots, abbesses, and their doings, neither to religion profitable, nor to morality, swelling my authors

[1] *History of Britain*, pp. 65–67. [2] Ibid., p 66 [3] Ibid., p. 138

[4] Ibid., p. 184. Hume quotes this: 'The history of that period abounds in names, but is extremely barren of events; or the events related so much without circumstances and causes that the most profound or most eloquent writer must despair of rendering them either instructive or entertaining to the reader. Even the great learning and vigorous imagination of Milton sunk under the weight, and this author scruples not to declare that the skirmishes of the kites or crows as much merited a particular narrative as the confused transactions and battles of the Saxon Heptarchy.'—*History of England*, i. 25.

each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted, and left as their propriety, who have a mind to write the ecclesiastical matters of those ages?'[1] The development of a scientific interest in the monuments and institutions of the past was one of the characteristics of seventeenth-century England, but so far as it showed itself in researches into ecclesiastical antiquities Milton took no interest in the movement. He scoffed at men like Dodsworth and Dugdale, 'who take pleasure to be all their lifetime raking the foundations of old abbeys and cathedrals.'[2] Though he professed to distinguish between antiquaries, 'whose labours are useful and laudable,' and 'antiquitarians', that is, 'those that over affect antiquity', and consequently oppose necessary changes in the Church, he evidently thought that all antiquaries tended to become antiquitarians. In his pamphlet *Of Reformation in England* he sneers at Camden as 'a fast friend of episcopacy, who cannot but love bishops as well as old coins and his much lamented monasteries for antiquity's sake'.[3]

Just as Milton failed to appreciate the value of researches into monastic antiquities, so he was insensible to the charm of the monastic legends. He had not hesitated for the sake of the poets to relate Geoffrey of Monmouth's fantastic fictions about the early British kings, but fabulous stories about events which occurred in historic times stood on a different footing. A vision might pass, but no story with a miracle in it should be told in his pages. Legends of martyrs were therefore excluded. Speaking of Alban of Verulam, he says that the story of his martyrdom 'soiled and worse martyred with the fabling zeal of some idle fancies, more fond of miracles than apprehensive of truth, deserves not longer digression'.[4] The secret murder of Kenelm of Mercia was miraculously revealed, 'but to tell how,' says Milton, 'is a long story, though told out of order by Malmesbury, and under the year 821 by Matthew of Westminster, where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my readers.'[5]

In Milton's attitude scientific incredulity was reinforced by Puritanical abhorrence of popery, and by contempt for the triviality of

[1] *History of Britain*, p 177. Hume echoes this passage: 'It is almost impossible, and quite needless, to be more particular in relating the transactions of the East Angles. What instruction or entertainment can it give the reader to hear a long bead-roll of barbarous names, Egric, Annas, Ethelbert, Ethelwald, Aldulf, Elfwald, Beorne, Ethelred, Ethelbert, who successively murdered, expelled, or inherited from each other, and obscurely filled the throne of that kingdom?'—i. 40

[2] Ibid., p. 173.

[3] *Of Reformation in England, Prose Works*, i. 14.

[4] *History of Britain*, p. 88.

[5] Ibid.

ecclesiastical controversy, wherein he anticipates the philosophical historians of the next century. After Augustine had commenced the work of converting the men of Kent, Pope Gregory sent him a supply of fellow labourers. 'What they were,' says Milton, 'may be guessed by the stuff which they brought with them, vessels and vestments for the altar, copes, relics, and for the Archbishop Austin a pall to say mass in; to such a rank superstition that age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of apostolic zeal.'[1] He is still more contemptuous when, having mentioned the Synod of Whitby, he has to refer to the controversy between the Irish and English clergy about the tonsure. 'Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of crowns.'[2] Of monastic institutions he speaks always with similar contempt, dwelling at length on their worst side and on their decay, never mentioning their services in their prime. 'In the days of Ina,' he relates, 'clerks and laics, men and women hasting to Rome in herds, thought themselves nowhere sure of eternal life till they were cloistered there.' Kings imitated their subjects: if one was 'forcibly shaven a monk', many others of their own free will 'got into a monk's hood'. Kelwulf of Northumberland became a monk in Lindisfarne, 'yet none of the severest,' says Milton, 'for he brought those monks from milk and water to wine and ale; in which doctrine no doubt but they were soon docile, and well might, for Kelwulf brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of land, recited by Simeon, yet all under pretence of following (I use the author's words) poor Christ, by voluntary poverty: no marvel then if such applause were given by monkish writers to kings turning monks, and much cunning perhaps used to allure them.'[3] The fruit of this predilection for monkish life was the ruin of Church and State. When at the beginning of the ninth century the Danish storm broke in England, the Saxons were ripe for conquest. They were 'broken with luxury and sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of arms, and the study of all virtuous knowledge, some betook themselves to over-worldly or vicious practice, others to religious idleness and solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive visions; easily perceived such by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the gospel, or utterly forbidden, ceremonies, relics, monasteries, masses, idols; add to these ostentation of alms, got ofttimes by rapine and oppression, or intermixed with violent and lustful deeds,

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 141. [2] Ibid., p. 162.
[3] Ibid., pp. 172, 173, 176, 180.

sometimes prodigally bestowed as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed'. Thus religion itself had grown void of sincerity, and the greatest shows of purity had become impure.[1]

There is one omission in Milton's references to ecclesiastical affairs which at first surprises the reader. He does not attack episcopacy. In 1641 he had thought nothing too bad to say of the bishops. 'Most certain it is (as all our stories bear witness) that ever since their coming to the see of Canterbury, for nearly twelve hundred years, to speak of them in general, they have been in England to our souls a sad and doleful succession of illiterate and blind guides; to our purses and goods a wasteful kind of robbers, a perpetual havoc and rapine; to our state a continual hydra of mischief and molestation, the forge of discord and rebellion.'[2] In the *History*, however, Milton is almost completely silent about the bishops. Incidentally he remarks how quickly Augustine and his successors 'stepped up into fellowship of pomp with kings'. On the other hand, he inserts an unexpectedly favourable character of Dunstan: 'a strenuous bishop, zealous without dread of persons, and for aught appears, the best of many ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular affairs.'[3]

Perhaps this absence of attacks on bishops is to be explained by the fact that they were suppressed by the licenser. Toland says: 'The Licensers, those sworn officers to destroy learning, liberty, and good sense, expunged several passages of it, wherein he exposed the superstitious pride and cunning of the popish monks in the Saxon times, but applied by the sagacious Licensers to Charles the Second's bishops.'[4] But the number of attacks upon 'the popish monks' which remain seem to refute the story that such indirect thrusts at Milton's old enemies were struck out. Some remarks against the bishops perhaps disappeared owing to the censorship, but there is a better explanation of their absence. Bishops had been abolished before Milton began to write his *History*. Since 1646 'new presbyter' not 'old priest' had been Milton's mark.[5] In the *History* he used the primitive bishops as a stalking-horse against the Presbyterians. Relating the story that three British bishops who attended the Synod of Rimini in 354 accepted the emperor's offer to pay their expenses rather than the subsidies offered by the brethren, 'esteeming it more honourable to live on the public than

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 190. [2] *Of Reformation, Prose Works*, i. 60.

[3] *History of Britain*, pp. 141, 245

[4] Toland, *Life of John Milton*, 1699, p. 138.

[5] Sonnet 'On the New Forces of Conscience under the Long Parliament'.

to be obnoxious to any private purse,' he adds the comment: 'doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the presbyters of our age; who like well to sit in assembly on the public stipend, but liked not the poverty that caused these to do so.'[1] Under cover of describing after Gildas the vices of the British clergy in the sixth century, he inserts phrases aimed at modern ministers. 'Pastors in name but in deed wolves,' 'seizing on the ministry as a trade, not as a spiritual charge,' 'intent not to feed the flock but to pamper and well line themselves,' who 'keep in awe the superstitious multitude' with 'niceties and trivial points' but 'in true saving knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid as themselves'.[2] Lest there should be any mistake made by his readers, Milton placed at the beginning of Book III a comparison between the state of Britain when the Romans left it and that of England in 1647 and 1648, containing a direct denunciation of the self-seeking of the divines of the Westminster Assembly and their demand for compulsion in matters of conscience.[3]

This great digression shows how impossible it was for Milton to avoid referring to the problems of the present when he was writing about the events of the past. To utter freely what he felt about 'so dear a concernment' as his country's weal was a necessity of his nature. Just as Carlyle was obliged to suspend his study of Cromwell in order to express in *Past and Present* his feelings about the condition of England in 1843, so Milton interrupted his *History of Britain* in order to say what he thought about the condition of England in 1648. As the Civil War drew towards its close, the result of 'all this waste of wealth and loss of blood' became doubtful. In the two years of confusion which followed, no stable settlement was attained, and it seemed as if none was attainable. The king had been practically set aside, but the Parliament seemed unable to govern. To Milton, England appeared to be in the position of Britain when the Roman rule ended. When the Romans left the country, the Britons 'thus relinquished, and by all right the government relapsing into their own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after their own laws.' But they failed to erect a stable government. 'They seemed awhile to bestir themselves with a show of diligence in their new affairs, some secretly aspiring to rule, others adoring the name of liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 90. He refers to this again in *The Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church, Prose Works*, iii. 376.

[2] *History of Britain*, p. 129.

[3] Ibid., p. 100; *Prose Works*, ed. Mitford, iii. 94–101.

what was wanting in them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the wisdom, the virtue, the labour to use and maintain true liberty, they soon remitted their heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own liberty than before under a foreign yoke.'[1] England now was in a similar condition. Fortune seemed 'to have put liberty so long desired like a bride into their hands'. The faults of the Britons 'brought those ancient natives to misery and ruin by liberty, which rightly used might have made them happy', as the faults of the English had brought them now, 'after many labours, much bloodshed and vast expense, to ridiculous frustration.'[2]

What were the causes of this failure? When the Long Parliament met the people chose to represent them 'such as they thought best affected to the public good'. Some were men of wisdom and integrity, but the greater part merely of men of wealth or ambition. These last, 'when their superficial zeal was spent,' betook themselves every one to follow his own ends. Justice was delayed and denied; spite and favour determined all; everywhere there was wrong and oppression. The members shared offices, gifts, and preferments amongst themselves; instead of enacting good laws they did nothing but impose new taxes; instead of paying the just debts of the State they cheated its creditors.[3] Fearful of being called to account, they fomented fresh troubles and invented new business in order to avoid the necessity of laying down their authority.

Religion was in as bad a plight as the State. The Westminster Assembly had been selected to reform the Church. Its members, after crying down pluralists and non-residents, had become pluralists and non-residents themselves. They called as loudly for compulsion in matters of religion against others as they had complained of it when exercised against themselves, and strove to set up a spiritual tyranny by the aid of the secular power. Seeing the incapacity of their statesmen, the people became disaffected, and seeing the hypocrisy of their ministers, they ceased to believe in religion.

'Thus,' continues Milton, 'they who of late were extolled as our greatest deliverers, and had the people wholly at their devotion, by so discharging their trust as we see, did not only weaken and unfit

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 100. Milton elsewhere refers to this period to prove that British kings were elected by the people, and could be deposed by them. See p. 107, and *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, *Prose Works*, ii. 472.

[2] The ridiculousness of failure to maintain freedom after such efforts to gain it is in 1660 the keynote of Milton's *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, when the position resembled that in 1648. *Prose Works*, iii. 425.

[3] Compare Milton's Sonnet to Fairfax, written in August 1648.

themselves to be dispensers of what liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the people, now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive or digest any liberty at all. For stories teach us, that liberty sought out of season, in a corrupt and degenerate age, brought Rome itself into a farther slavery: for liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be handled by just and virtuous men; to bad and dissolute, it becomes a mischief unwieldy in their own hands: neither is it completely given, but by them who have the happy skill to know what is grievance and unjust to a people, and how to remove it wisely; what good laws are wanting, and how to frame them substantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom which they merit, and the bad the curb which they need. But to do this, and to know these exquisite proportions, the heroic wisdom which is required surmounted far the principles of these narrow politicians: what wonder then if they sunk as these unfortunate Britons before them, entangled and oppressed with things too hard and generous above their strain and temper?'[1]

Then, having stated the causes of this failure, Milton explained the cure. Englishmen, 'to speak a truth not often spoken,' were not born statesmen. England was a land 'fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war', but at the same time 'not over-fertile naturally of men able to govern wisely and prudently in peace'. The national character was in fault: it was rude, intractable and unteachable—he almost says unintelligent. Public spirit and similar qualities 'grow not here but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate breeding'. Just as certain products must be imported to our island from sunnier lands, 'so must ripe understanding and many civil virtues be imported into our minds from foreign writings and examples of best ages.' If England was to succeed in great enterprises she must have men with the education of statesmen to conduct her affairs—not politicians 'trusting only in their mother wit' or tradesmen 'called from shops and warehouses to sit in supreme councils', but 'men more than vulgar, bred up in the knowledge of ancient and illustrious deeds'.

Here Milton's tract *Of Education* and his *History of Britain* explain each other. When he wrote in 1644 that the reforming of education was a thing 'for the want whereof this nation perishes', he did not mean that England was perishing for want of scholars, but for want of statesmen. His imaginary pupils were from the first to be 'stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages', and in the end

[1] *Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament*, p. 9

to be fit 'to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war'. Thus to qualify them, one of their studies must be the study of politics. They should be taught to know 'the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies; that they may not, in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the State'.[1]

'Choice histories' were also to be put into their hands, and in the *History of Britain* Milton explains what he conceived to be the practical value of his national history to a statesman. It could teach him to understand the character of his countrymen in its strength and weakness. By comparing the past and present, we can 'raise a knowledge of ourselves both great and weighty', and judge what we are able to achieve. 'For if it be a high point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a nation, to know itself, rather than puffed up with vulgar flatteries and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly and come off miserably in great undertakings.'[2]

With the exception of the first paragraph, the whole of this long digression was omitted when Milton published his *History* in 1670. The passage was published in 1681, after his death, under the title of *Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and the Assembly of Divines.* According to the publisher, Mr. Milton had intended the 'Character' to be printed in his *History*, 'but out of tenderness to a party (whom neither this nor much more lenity has had the luck to oblige) it was struck out for some harshness, being only such a digression as the *History* itself would not be discomposed by its omission.'[3]

Yet, while the suppressed passage is undoubtedly Milton's, and is correctly placed at the beginning of the third book, the explanation given of its omission is obviously absurd. The publisher recommended it as 'very seasonable for these times', and it would have been equally seasonable in 1670. It was printed now as a controversial weapon against the Presbyterians and the Nonconformists, and it could have been printed eleven years earlier for the same reason. For there was no thought in 1670 of any tenderness towards that party, as the

[1] *Prose Works*, ii. 384, 385, 388.

[2] *History of Britain*, p. 100. Of the digression there remains in the text thirteen lines on p. 99 and eleven and a half on the next page. The rest was omitted.

[3] Masson, *Life of Milton*, pp 806-7.

passing of the second Conventicle Act in that year proved. Any licenser would have welcomed the denunciation of the Assembly of Divines as a powerful argument in favour of the policy of the king's government.

The most reasonable explanation is that Milton suppressed the passage himself. All had changed since 1648. The Assembly of Divines was a thing of the past, and its survivors were now persecuted rather than persecutors. The Long Parliament had come to an end: obscurity, or captivity, or the scaffold had been the fate of its leaders, and Milton was more inclined to lament their sufferings than to point out their trespasses or omissions in the day of their power. Englishmen themselves, instead of attempting the high enterprise of erecting a free state, had contentedly relapsed into their old servitude. Milton, therefore, whilst retaining the suggested parallel between the condition of the Britons in the fifth century and that of the English at the close of the first civil war, eliminated the application to the politics of 1648. It had lost all practical utility.

Yet since all history should 'instruct and benefit them that read', the moral of the whole story should be made plain.[1] Poet or historian, Milton was ever a preacher, and used British history for the purpose of edification just as he would have used his British epic. To his eyes the significance of the revolutions he had related was clear. Each successive conquest of Britain was a just judgement on the conquered race. The Britons were mere barbarians, 'progenitors not to be gloried in,' naturally and deservedly subdued by the Romans. Roman civilization served but to prepare them for bondage. Freedom made them worse instead of better, till 'scarce the least footstep or impression of goodness was left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the land; except in some so very few as hardly to be visible in a general corruption.'[2] Hence 'the many miseries and desolations brought by a divine hand on a perverse nation; driven, when nothing else could reform them, out of a fair country into a mountainous and barren corner by strangers and pagans. So much more tolerable in the eye of heaven is infidelity professed than Christian faith and religion dishonoured by unchristian works.'[3] By the ninth century 'the Saxons were full as wicked as the Britons were at their arrival'. They fell before the Danes because God purposed 'to punish our instrumental punishers, though now Christians, by other heathen, according to His divine retaliation, invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction'.

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 3.

[2] Ibid., pp. 49, 71, 108, 128.

[3] Ibid., p. 134.

Vain had been the union of the seven kingdoms under one rule, for 'when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it'.[1]

Such, too, were the causes of the Norman Conquest. By their vices the English had 'fitted themselves for this servitude'. The clergy had 'lost all good literature and religion'; the great men were 'given to gluttony and dissolute life'; the meaner sort 'spent all they had in drunkenness. . . . Some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality.' And as the long-suffering of God 'permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so His severity ofttimes exempts not good men from their share in evil times with the bad'.

It remained only to apply this moral to the present moment, and to warn the England of Charles II. Milton does this in the last sentence of his *History*, added evidently in 1670: 'If these were the causes of such misery and thraldom to our ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, than here in fit season to remember this age in the midst of her security, to fear from like vices, without amendment, the revolution of like calamities.'[2]

[1] *History of Britain*, p. 190.

[2] The inseparable connexion between liberty and virtue was the fundamental doctrine of Milton's political pamphlets as well as his *History*, and he emphasized it both in *Paradise Lost* and in *Paradise Regained*. Men, explains the Archangel Michael to Adam, lost their inward freedom when they allowed their passions to 'catch the government from reason', and the loss of their outward freedom followed. It was so with nations too.

> 'Sometimes nations will decline so low
> From virtue, which is freedom, that no wrong
> But Justice, and some fatal curse annext
> Deprives them of their outward liberty,
> Their inward lost.'

Nor was it possible to deliver them. 'Who can of inward slaves make outward free?' replies Christ to the Tempter.

A CONSIDERATION OF MACAULAY'S COMPARISON OF DANTE AND MILTON

By W. J. COURTHOPE

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read December 10, 1908

MACAULAY'S Essay on Milton is one of his most remarkable performances. Though in it he was making his appearance in the *Edinburgh Review* for the first time, it exhibits in a distinct form all the qualities that characterize his mature style. It contains passages of striking eloquence. It shows him to be already a past master in the art of creating literary effects, such as the artistic arrangement of subject-matter, the concentration of interest on a few leading points, the subtle interrelation of paragraphs, and even the epigrammatic sequence of sentences. Above all it deserves study as a skilful example of party panegyric.

Panegyric, or the art of bestowing praise on persons, admits of many varieties of treatment, and is practised with different degrees of success, according to the character of the person praised, of the audience, the time, the place, the occasion, and a hundred other external circumstances. Its simplest and most common form is that of direct flattery, human nature being so constituted as to be able to swallow an almost unlimited quantity of this, even when the quality is of an inferior kind. Panegyrical orators, when praising a Roman Emperor, were expected to lay on the colours without any attempt at chiaroscuro. Much on the same principle, though on a smaller scale, the family panegyrist, on a church monument, records the virtues of deceased persons in terms which make them only a little lower than the angels. The flattering dedicator of the eighteenth century adopted a like method when praising his aristocratic patron. Even in our own democratic age we are familiar with this form of panegyric. In that essentially modern species of personal criticism which is called an 'Appreciation', anything in the shape of a qualifying or negative statement must be carefully avoided; and when a weekly review discovers the excellence of a new poet or a

promising novelist, it is necessary for the friendly critic to call the attention of the reader to his author's merits by declaring that Mr. A. B. C. is the greatest master of his art who has appeared since Shakespeare, or that Mrs. X. Y. Z., in her romance, unites the philosophy of a George Eliot with the observation of a Jane Austen.

Panegyric Absolute, as it may be called, is generally only applicable when the person praised is so powerful that the rest of the audience may be left out of account, or when the audience is so little disposed to criticize that the most exaggerated terms of praise will probably be found the most effective. In the case of an audience at once instructed and unprejudiced, the panegyrical orator who wishes to praise a party or a person has to take into account the existence of envy and suspicion in the constitution of human nature, and to remember that, before supreme excellence can be allowed to any man or woman, their merits must be exposed to strict examination. He must be prepared with at least the appearance of judicial panegyric, a form of praise for which a much higher degree of art is required than for the panegyric absolute. Of the methods employed in this kind of eulogy by far the most impressive is that of the Devil's Advocate, which used once to be applied in trials of aspirants for canonization. In order to demonstrate the full glory of the Saint it was necessary to show some suspicion of human frailty in his nature, the case for which, having been plausibly stated by the counsel for the Evil One, was immediately afterwards triumphantly demolished by the champions of Heavenly Truth. This procedure has been copied in literature, and is an invaluable instrument in the hands of a skilful partizan. As I said to begin with, one of the most admirable specimens of party panegyric is to be found in Macaulay's Essay on Milton; and in this Devil's Advocacy is freely used.

Macaulay, with much candour, announces at the opening of his Essay that he intends to be Milton's panegyrist. 'We turn,' he says, 'for a short time from the topics of the day, to commemorate, in all love and reverence, the genius and virtues of John Milton, the poet, the statesman, the philosopher, the glory of English literature, the champion and the martyr of English liberty.' At the same time he alleges that, in these various capacities, some objections have been raised against the reputation of the proposed Saint, which have to be removed before the possession of a spotless character can be fully established. 'His detractors,' we are told, 'though outvoted have not been silenced,' and a statement is then

made of the objection which the Devil's Advocate is supposed to have raised to Milton's supremacy as a poet. 'Milton, it is said, inherited what his predecessors created; he lived in an enlightened age; he received a finished education; and we must therefore, if we would form a just estimate of his powers, make large deductions in consideration of these advantages.' As for his political character, the Devil's Advocate, in Macaulay's representation of him, points out that Milton is liable to the charge of being a justifier of Regicide, and that, though 'an enthusiastic votary of liberty', he held office under a despot. When these objections have been duly formulated, Macaulay proceeds with much thoroughness to overthrow them, thereby proving, negatively at least, that there is nothing which can possibly bar the way to the proposed canonization.

The general principles on which Milton acted having been examined and vindicated, it remains for the panegyrist to exalt his individual character by means of contrast and comparison. It may be confidently asserted that nowhere have these arts been more brilliantly applied than in Macaulay's Essay. Politically, the figure of Milton, standing in a vivid light, is brought into relief against the dark colours of the historical background. The virtues and defects of the Puritan party, on the one hand, and of the Cavalier party and the Republican Humanists, on the other, are first graphically painted. Then, says Macaulay, 'Milton did not strictly belong to any of the classes which we have described. He was not a Puritan. He was not a free-thinker. He was not a Royalist. In his character the noblest qualities of every party were combined in harmonious union. From the Parliament and the Court, from the Conventicle and from the Gothic cloister, from the gloomy and sepulchral circles of the Roundheads, and from the Christmas revel of the hospitable Cavalier, his nature selected and drew to itself whatever was great and good, while it rejected all the base and pernicious ingredients by which those finer elements were defiled.' In Poetry, as Macaulay justly says, 'the only poem of modern times which can be compared with the *Paradise Lost* is the *Divine Comedy*.' And here, though he declines to decide the claim of superiority between the styles of the two poems, he takes advantage of the contrast of character between Dante and Milton, to heighten the panegyric on his own Saint. A portrait is first painted of Dante, which is scarcely calculated to arouse admiration or affection. 'No person,' we are told, 'can look on features noble even to ruggedness, the dark furrows of the cheek, the haggard and woful stare of the

eye, the sullen and contemptuous curve of the lip, and doubt that they belong to a man too proud and too sensitive to be happy.' But as to the companion picture:

'Milton,' it is said, 'was like Dante a statesman and a lover; and, like Dante, he had been unfortunate in ambition and in love. He had survived his health and his sight, the comforts of his home, and the prosperity of his party. Of the great men by whom he had been distinguished at his entrance into life, some had been taken away from the evil to come; some had carried into foreign climates their unconquerable hatred of oppression; some were pining in dungeons; and some had poured forth their blood on scaffolds. Venal and licentious scribblers, with just sufficient talent to clothe the thoughts of a pandar in the style of a bellman, were now the favourite writers of the sovereign and of the public. It was a loathsome herd, which could be compared to nothing so fitly as to the rabble of Comus, grotesque monsters, half bestial, half human, dropping with wine, bloated with gluttony, and reeling in obscene dances. Amidst these that fair Muse was placed, like the chaste Lady of the Masque, lofty, spotless, and serene, to be chattered at, and pointed at, and grinned at by the whole rout of Satyrs and Goblins. If ever despondency and asperity could be excused in any man they might have been excused in Milton. But the strength of his mind overcame every calamity. Neither blindness, nor gout, nor age, nor penury, nor domestic affliction, nor neglect, had power to disturb his sedate and majestic patience. His spirits do not seem to have been high, but they were singularly equable. His temper was serious, perhaps stern; but it was a temper which no suffering could render sullen or fretful. Such as it was when, on the eve of great events, he returned from his travels, in the prime of health and of manly beauty, loaded with literary distinctions, and glowing with patriotic hopes, such it continued to be when, after having experienced every calamity which is incident to our nature—old, poor, sightless, and disgraced—he retired to his hovel to die.'

Comparison is a most valuable method in criticism. It gives life, colour, clearness, and relative proportion, to our view of individual objects in a way which would be quite impossible if things were judged entirely by themselves. But when used for the purposes of panegyric it is open to many objections, and Macaulay's Essay on Milton is no exception to this rule. In the first place it is steeped in the atmosphere of party. We seem to hear the key-

note struck in the gruff observation of Johnson: 'Sir, the dog was a Whig'; to which Macaulay makes the quick reply: 'Yes, and that is precisely the ground on which I shall claim his canonization as a saint.' Whiggism is the pivot on which the whole panegyric turns 'His public conduct,' says Macaulay, 'was such as was to be expected from a man of a spirit so high and of an intellect so powerful He lived at one of the most memorable eras in the history of mankind, at the very crisis of the great conflict between Oromasdes and Arimanes, liberty and despotism, reason and prejudice. The great battle was fought for no single generation, for no single land. The destinies of the human race were staked on the same cast with the freedom of the English people. Then were first proclaimed those mighty principles which have roused Greece from the slavery and degradation of two thousand years, and which, from one end of Europe to the other, have kindled an unquenchable fire in the hearts of the oppressed, and loosed the knees of the oppressors with an unwonted fear.' Rhetoric of this kind might be effective in the days of the Holy Alliance, but in our own age it seems a little old-fashioned and out of date. Milton's fame is immortal, and he can hardly be adequately praised by claiming for party services which were meant for mankind.

Again, a certain resentment is roused in the mind of a fair-judging audience when Milton's political character and conduct are praised at the expense of Dante's. Both, it is admitted, were partizans; but while Milton's actions are justified on the plea of public necessity, Dante's, it is implied, were the fruits of an ill-conditioned nature. Attention is called to his proud, sullen, and unhappy temper, in contrast with Milton's angelic patience and serenity. This is scarcely just. Dante's pride and severity need not be denied, nor the intensity of his party hatreds. We have only to recall his treatment of Argenti in Hell and his interview with Farinata to realize the strength of the hereditary antipathies in the midst of which he lived. 'Who were your ancestors?' is the first question put to him by the Ghibelline heretic; and so passionate is the desire of Farinata to learn that his own descendants have made their faction prevail, that he declares, 'if they have learned that art badly, it torments me more than this bed.' But the expression of such feelings is even more the effect of local circumstances than of personal character; it springs from the concentration of all political action within the narrow compass of a single city. There is, indeed, none of this local or personal spirit in

Milton's partizanship, but of the vehemence of his party spirit we have evidence enough. We have only to open his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, or his *Iconoclastes*, to light on passages showing that, at least in his detestation of the royalist party, his Whiggism was as staunch as the Ghibellinism of Farinata: in the one case the hatred concentrates itself on city families; in the other the scale is extended to include a national faction. Take, for example, the following from *Iconoclastes*:

'The people, exorbitant and excessive in all their motions, are prone ofttimes, not to a religious only but a civil kind of idolatry, as idolizing their kings, though never more mistaken in the object of their worship; heretofore being wont to repute for saints those faithful and courageous barons, who lost their lives in the field, making glorious war against tyrants for the common liberty, as Simon de Momfort, Earl of Leicester, against Henry the Third; Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, against Edward the Second. But now with a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit, except some few, who yet retain in them the old English fortitude and love of freedom, and testified it by their matchless deeds, the rest, embastardized from the ancient nobleness of their ancestors, are ready to fall flat, and give adoration to the image and memory of this man who hath offered at more cunning fetches to undermine our liberties, and put tyranny into an art, than any British king before him.'

The echo of language like this by Milton's modern English panegyrist, who tells us that, in those days, 'the principles of liberty were the scoff of every grinning courtier, and the Anathema Maranatha of every fawning dean,' is surely only a variant of the party dialect of the Florentine Farinata. Again, when Milton's 'sedate and majestic patience' in misfortune is heightened by contrast with the intensity of Dante's bitter indignation, we note the partiality of the panegyrist. If Dante complains of the saltness of the bread of exile and the hardness of his patron's stairs, Milton, in the midst of his heavenly theme, can pause to speak of his own blindness and loneliness:

> Though fallen on evil days,
> On evil days though fallen and evil tongues,
> With darkness and with dangers compast round,
> And solitude.

Nor should it be forgotten that Dante had more right than Milton to complain of the injustice with which he had been treated. He was exiled from Florence by his own party, because, in the perform-

ance of his public duty, he was accused of showing too much indul gence to his opponents; whereas Milton, as a defender of regicides, had no reason to look for other than harsh treatment, when the royalist party returned to power: nevertheless his name was not entered among those of the persons excluded from the Act of Oblivion. Dante died in exile. His anticipations of a triumphant return to Florence were not fulfilled: the day never came which—to use his own imagery—'should conquer the cruelty that bars me from the beautiful fold where once I slept as a lamb at enmity with the wolves that warred against it.' He was buried in the alien soil of Ravenna. Macaulay's picture of Milton's last days, his contrast between the time when he returned from his travels 'loaded with literary distinctions and glowing with patriotic hopes' and the time when, 'having experienced every calamity which is incident to our nature, old, poor, sightless, and disgraced, he retired to his hovel to die,' is the exaggerated rhetoric of the partizan. Milton never retired to a hovel to die, but in 1661 took a small house near Bunhill Fields, where he lived unmolested for more than thirteen years, quietly engaged in the production of his great poems, and often visited by members of the nobility and foreigners attracted by his illustrious reputation. He was, as Johnson says, 'buried next his father in the chancel of St. Giles at Cripplegate. His funeral was splendidly and numerously attended.'

Not only does Macaulay use the character of Dante as a foil to set off the superior moral excellence of Milton, but he compares the *Divine Comedy* with *Paradise Lost*, in order to establish the supremacy of Milton's genius in poetry. And here the defects in his methods of party panegyric are seen in a new light. For the purpose of proving his particular conclusions, he finds it necessary to propound general principles which will not bear examination. Thus, having put forward his objecting man of straw, with a proposition which, as far as I am aware, has never been advanced by any critic of repute—namely, that Milton cannot be accounted a great poet because he had the advantage of living in a highly civilized age—he proceeds to encounter this with a gigantic paradox. 'We think,' he says, 'that as civilization advances poetry almost necessarily declines.' Setting aside the fact that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* themselves reflect the manners of a considerably advanced stage of civilization, it seems surprising that Macaulay should never have asked himself how, on his principle, it came to pass that the Odes of Pindar, the plays of the Greek dramatists, the *Aeneid*, the *Divine Comedy*, in fact every

really great poem that the world possesses, were produced in a highly civilized age. By what reasoning would he have attempted to prove that in English poetry there had been a continuous decline since the days of Chaucer? One paradox necessarily led him on to another, and committed him to his obviously inadequate definition of poetry. 'By poetry,' he says, 'we mean the art of employing words in such a manner as to produce an illusion on the imagination, the art of doing by means of words what the painter does by means of colours.' Evidently this definition covers only the descriptive parts of poetry; it takes no account either of the active or of the emotional elements which are involved in the art, and which the painter, whose representations deal necessarily with a single moment of time, can express but imperfectly. Action, character, pathos, though the poet must clothe them in words, cannot always find a vehicle in imagery; verbal images have little to do with what is poetical in the character and situation of Antigone or Imogen. How many images are there in Satan's address to the Sun in *Paradise Lost*, or in Helen's lament in the *Iliad* over the body of Hector? Having, however, thus restricted the art of poetry to the employment of verbal imagery, Macaulay proceeds to contrast the practice of Dante in the *Divine Comedy* and of Milton in *Paradise Lost* on this ground. 'The poetry of Milton,' he says, 'differs from that of Dante as the hieroglyphics of Egypt differed from the picture-writing of Mexico. The images which Dante employs speak for themselves; they stand simply for what they are. Those of Milton have a significance which is often discernible only to the initiated. Their value depends less on what they directly represent than on what they remotely suggest.' He then cites a number of passages from each poem to illustrate his meaning; and these, being excellently chosen, appear to establish the point for which he is contending.

Even accepting Macaulay's narrow definition of poetry, his criticism of the styles of Dante and Milton seems to me to be the exact inverse of the truth. Far from it being true that the images which Dante employs 'speak for themselves, stand simply for what they are', Dante himself explains that the sense of his poem 'is by no means simple, nay, rather may be called polysensuous, or of many senses'. Four methods of interpretation, he says, are to be applied to it, 'literal, allegorical, moral, anagogical.' And again, Beatrice, in the *Paradiso*, says to Dante, explaining the unreality of the objects which appear to him: 'Thus it is necessary to speak to your wit, since it is only from an object of sense that it apprehends what it afterwards makes fit

matter for the understanding.' This shows us that, in spite of the great distinctness of imagery in the *Divine Comedy*, it is a mistake to suppose, with Macaulay, that the distinctness is employed 'simply to make the meaning of the writer as clear to the reader as it is to himself'. It is employed really because the whole atmosphere of Dante's poem is allegorical; because objects of sense have with him a spiritual meaning, which can be fully grasped only by a process of reason and reflection.

Again, it is of course the case that, as compared with the imagery of Dante, the imagery of Milton is indistinct, and is conveyed by means of simile and comparison. But this does not imply that Milton's imagery has, as Macaulay says, 'a signification which is often discernible only to the initiated'; were such the case, *Paradise Lost* would never have attained its universally recognized position as one of the great poems of the world. Nor does Milton deliberately—to use Macaulay's words—'avoid loathsome details, and take refuge in indistinct and solemn imagery.' The reason of the different method he employs in describing the lazar house in the eleventh book of *Paradise Lost*, as compared with the description of the last ward of Malebolge in the *Inferno*, is, that he is writing in the classical epic style, while Dante employs the style suited to mediaeval allegory. The topography of *Paradise Lost* seems, of course, indistinct by the side of the topography of the *Divine Comedy*; but this is due to the fact that Milton's conception of the universe was more spacious than that of the Florentine poet; the mental picture of Satan's voyage from Hell to Eden is as clearly painted, on its own scale, as is the descent of Dante and Virgil through the successive circles of the *Inferno*. It is, moreover, 'directly represented,' not 'remotely suggested', because the narrative of it is, in a sense, historical and epical, and is in no way invested with an allegorical meaning.

To bestow upon either Dante or Milton the meed of praise rightly due to such famous persons, and to accentuate and emphasize this by a just comparison between them, they must be raised high above the atmosphere of partizanship, political or literary. Each must be regarded as being, in his particular circumstances, a representative of humanity; both are protagonists in that battle of life which has been proceeding continuously from the beginning of the Christian era; their works 'hold the mirror up to Nature, and show the very age and body of the time his form and pressure'. Viewed in this light, Dante will stand forth as the type of the action and thought of the Middle Ages, embodied in the person of a Florentine citizen; Milton, as an incarnation of the great movements of the Reformation

and the Renaissance, operating on the arena of English politics. These conditions too will furnish the reasons for that striking contrast of imagery in the *Divine Comedy* and *Paradise Lost*, to which Macaulay restricts his comparison of the styles of the two poets, and will explain why allegory is made the vehicle of one poem, while the form of the Classical epic is adopted in the other. I will venture, in the brief time at my disposal, to call attention to a few leading points which may help to make the parallel striking and suggestive.

To begin with, it is useful to note, in the conception and execution of the two poems, certain similarities, one at least of which serves to show that Dante and Milton were workers at different stages of a single movement of civilization. Both of them originally intended to embody a great poetical scheme in the Latin tongue, because in their day Latin was still accounted the sovereign language of literature. Two hexameters and a half of Dante's intended opening of his vision are preserved in a letter of a certain Frate Ilario, and show that the poem was meant to have an epic form; while Milton, in a Latin poem addressed to Manso, sketches the outlines of a Latin epic on King Arthur, which he was then revolving. Both abandoned this form of expression in favour of their vernacular language on characteristic grounds. When Frate Ilario objected the difficulty of expressing the weighty matter of the *Divine Comedy* in common speech, Dante replied: 'You are doubtless reasonable in what you think . . . yet when I considered the circumstances of the present age, I saw that the songs of famous poets went almost for nought; wherefore men of gentle blood, who wrote in better times, abandoned the liberal arts to the plebeian crowd. Accordingly I laid aside the little lyre to which at first I trusted, and tuned another, suited to the sense of modern men; for it is idle to set solid food before the lips of sucklings.' Milton's reason for discarding Latin was at once similar and different: 'There ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue.'

Again, there is much similarity in the lofty and serious spirit in which both Dante and Milton, having conceived great poetical designs, deliberately postponed the execution of them. Dante, as he

himself tells us, found his motive of inspiration in the desire to glorify the memory of Beatrice. 'After a year,' he says, 'it was given to me to behold a very wonderful vision, wherein I saw things which determined me that I would say nothing further of that most blessed one, until such time as I could discourse more worthily concerning her. Wherefore if it be His pleasure, through whom is the life of all things, that my life continue with me a few years, it is my hope that I shall yet write concerning her what has not before been written of any woman.' Milton's plea for delay, though more abstract, was in essence similar: 'Neither do I think it shame,' he says in his *Reason of Church Government*, 'to covenant with any knowing reader that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth or the vapours of wine, like that which flows from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the treacherous fury of a rhyming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out His Seraphim with the hallowed fire of His altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases; to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly art and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them.'

As to the period severally employed by the two poets in maturing their conceptions, we know from Dante's own statement that the 'wonderful vision' which inspired the composition of the *Divine Comedy* appeared to him a year after the death of Beatrice, when he was twenty-six years old, that is to say in 1291. His poem was finished in 1319. Twenty-eight years elapsed between the time when it was first conceived and the time of its completion. Between the date of the publication of Milton's *Reason of Church Government* and the date of the publication of *Paradise Lost*, 1667, twenty-six years passed. Dante survived the completion of the *Divine Comedy* by two years: *Samson Agonistes*, the last of Milton's biblical creations, was published in 1671, and Milton died in 1674. We find then a remarkable similarity, not only in the lofty motive of conception, but also in the period of incubation given by each poet to his religious work, and in the interval that elapsed between the termination of that work and the poet's death.

The long period in their lives during which both Dante and Milton allowed their poetical genius to remain in a state of passive receptivity, exposing their imagination to the rays of light coming to them from the social influences of the world without, before attempting to reproduce their conceptions in an artistic form, affords a suggestive explanation of the characteristic features to be found severally in the styles of the *Divine Comedy* and of *Paradise Lost.* Macaulay explains the contrast in the form of these works almost exclusively by the differences in the characters of the two poets. 'It would be difficult,' he says, 'to name two writers whose works have been more completely, though undesignedly, coloured by their personal feelings.' This is in a sense true; but as Macaulay, in order to exalt Milton, proceeds to dwell on the pride and bitterness of Dante, as if these were the only qualities reflected in the *Divine Comedy*, he leaves on the mind of the reader an inadequate idea of the greatness and comprehensiveness of the Italian poem. He takes no notice of Dante's intense love for his native soil, expressed in his yearning in exile for his 'beautiful San Giovanni'; pays no heed to the passionate tenderness of his nature, as revealed in his meeting with Beatrice in Purgatory; calls no attention to his marvellous picture of the light, peace, and ecstasy of the life of the saints in Paradise. The truth is that the supreme value of these two great poems lies less in their particular and personal than in their universal character, and the measure of their success as works of art is to be found in the perfection of the form by means of which each of them produces an organic representation of all the contrary influences operating alike on his own nature and on the spirit of his age.

The *Divine Comedy*, as I have already said, is an exact and faithful mirror of European thought in the Middle Ages—by which term I mean the great period of society intervening between the fall of the Roman Empire and the beginning of the modern era, dating from the rise of the Balance of Power among the chief European nations. The difficulties in the expression of thought which Dante had to encounter arose partly from the opposing elements of race which struggled for mastery in the mediaeval system, and partly from the absence of literary models which might guide him in constructing poetical forms for the vernacular speech. He was confronted by three great antagonistic forces in politics—the surviving municipal tradition of Roman government, the ecclesiastical order which had supervened upon that tradition, and the feudal institutions of the conquering barbarian races. All three of these influences find their proportioned place in

the scheme of the *Divine Comedy*—the strongest of them being, probably, the political theory of the Holy Roman Empire, which Dante makes the groundwork of his thought, alike in his treatise *De Monarchia* and in the idealism of the *Paradiso.* Almost equally powerful is the educational influence of the Scholastic Logic, which gives a characteristic form to all Dante's speculations about the physical and spiritual universe. Lastly, the lyrical motive in his poem springs out of the impulse of chivalrous Woman-worship, the main source of which lay in the feudal customs and institutions of the Teutonic races, and which, before the composition of the *Divine Comedy*, had found expression in the Knightly Romances, and in the social legislation of the Courts of Love. Round all these divergent modes of thought is diffused, in the *Divine Comedy*, an atmosphere of Allegory arising out of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, which from the beginning of the Christian era had deeply penetrated every system of theological teaching.

The *Divine Comedy* is far more deeply coloured with personal feeling than *Paradise Lost.* In the handling and treatment of the subject every detail reflects the intense individuality of Dante himself. He is the hero of his own epic; its action proceeds step by step with his progress through the three invisible worlds; his report of the system of things revealed to him in those worlds is a reflection of his actual experience in the world of sense. All this is perfectly natural. The form of expression used in the *Divine Comedy* is that which is best fitted to embody the sentiments of a Florentine citizen, whose affections are intensified and whose ideas are coloured by the concentration of interest within city walls. Hence spring the poetry and pathos, as well as the satirical indignation of Dante's local allusions. In the depths of Hell we find him speaking enthusiastically of his birthplace: 'On the beautiful river of Arno, in its great city, was I born and reared'; in Paradise 'the fount of his baptism' recurs to his memory; and his invective against the city that had sent him into exile is heightened as he calls up the image of his 'beautiful San Giovanni'. For the ideal framework of all these personal feelings, however, he is indebted to the historical beliefs of the society to which he belongs. The triple scene of his epic, Hell, Purgatory, Paradise, is no invention of his own: the form of the *Vita Nuova*, in which he records his passion for Beatrice, is suggested to him by the lyrics of the chivalrous Troubadours; and, on the other hand, the transformation of the real Beatrice into the abstract person of Theology is rendered intelligible by the scholastic use of Allegory,

as an instrument for the interpretation of Nature. The surpassing merit of the *Divine Comedy*, as a work of poetical art, consists not so much in the absolute originality of its invention, as in the skill with which the poet brings together a vast number of ideas and images from opposing quarters, and fuses them into a great system of philosophic thought.

In a different sense this too is true of the epic of Milton. In *Paradise Lost*, as well as in the *Divine Comedy*, we see the processes of a supreme imagination, procuring materials for its service from many distinct sources, Christian and Pagan, civil and feudal, classic and romantic, and blending them into a form of beautiful unity, representative of the spirit of thought and action in its own age. The contrast in the artistic result is striking, but it is exactly adapted to the change of circumstances, in the midst of which the later poem was composed. Dante was the poet of the Italian city, Milton of the English nation; Dante the representative of Catholic Unity, Milton of the Protestant Reformation: to Dante the true relations between Pagan antiquity and the Holy Roman Empire were unknown; Milton wrote at the height of the Classical Renaissance. In his day the Scholastic Philosophy had been abandoned alike by the reformers of religion and by the pioneers of experimental science; the idea of the physical universe presented by the astronomer Ptolemy had, among the more advanced reasoners of the age, been exchanged for the views of Copernicus and Galileo; the struggle between Liberty and Authority had passed from the narrow limits of the cities of Italy to the feudal aristocracy and the commercial classes of the northern nations; at the same time the allegorical method of interpreting and representing nature and society possessed, as may be seen from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, a very different measure of vitality from what was inherent in it when Dante wrote the *Divine Comedy*. If the scheme of Christian theology was to be presented in poetry, a different scale of treatment, another instrument of expression, were required. Milton remained long in uncertainty as to the form which his poem ought to assume. At first he thought of casting it into the dramatic mould, and had made some way in the construction of a kind of miracle play, suggested by the dramas of the Dutch Vondel and the Italian Andreini; and it was apparently only his artistic perception of the technical inadequacy of the drama for the vastness of his conceptions that made him eventually, with supreme judgement, adopt the form of the classical epic. By this resolve the character of *Paradise Lost* became necessarily much more impersonal than that of the *Divine Comedy*; the

action of Milton's poem depended not upon a private vision, involving views of contemporary life and action, but upon the recorded history of mankind; the subject contains in itself beginning, middle, and end. The actors in the poem, instead of being persons known to the poet, are either the ancestors of the human race or the supernatural rulers of Heaven and Hell. The description of their actions and the record of their speeches stand in the place of Dante's account of his own progress through the spiritual world, and of his colloquies with the persons he saw there. Nevertheless, though the matter of the speeches in *Paradise Lost* is necessarily metaphysical, it is as dramatically consistent with the character of the different speakers as any of the discourses held by Dante with Ciacco, Francesca di Rimini, or Cacciaguida. There is nothing in the images employed by Milton which is necessarily 'discernible only to the initiated'; though neither in his case nor in Dante's can the meaning of the imagery be rightly understood without thought and study.

To attempt to award the superiority in poetical performance to Dante or Milton would be as idle as to compare the two systems of thought which they severally represent. Macaulay's judgement that Dante 'decidedly yields' to Milton in his treatment of supernatural beings ignores the totally different method of conception in the two poems. If Dante's angels are 'good men with wings'; if his 'devils are spiteful ugly executioners'; on the other hand it must be admitted that, in Milton's representation of Heaven, 'God the Father turns a school divine.' It is more profitable to observe how comprehensively each poet embodies in an ideal form the thought of his age. Dante had perhaps the simpler task to perform. The unquestioning dogmatic faith of the Middle Ages could be expressed in imagery with a symmetry and completeness not possible to the more intricate thought of modern civilization. Hence there reigns through the whole atmosphere of the *Divine Comedy* the same spirit of *naïveté* and ingenuousness that delights us in the pictures of Giotto and Fra Angelico. Milton, on the other hand, is entitled to the supreme praise of having, in the form of *Paradise Lost*, reconciled almost irreconcilably contrary principles of life and thought. Dante finds no difficulty in dealing with the incongruous imagery of Paganism and Christianity, because the fabulous nature of beings like Cerberus, Charon, and the Centaurs, is lost to him in the allegorical atmosphere through which he views them. But to Milton Greek mythology presents itself in direct antagonism to his monotheistic faith; to his essentially civic intelligence romantic legend offers the

repugnant image of feudal monarchy; even humanist literature moves him to the reflection:—

> Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
> The top of eloquence, statists indeed
> And lovers of their country, as may seem;
> But herein to our Prophets far beneath,
> As men divinely taught, and better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government
> In their majestic unaffected style,
> Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.

Great indeed was that genius which, with religious views almost as extreme as those of Tertullian respecting the relations between classic literature and the Catholic faith, with a moral temper that could describe Sidney's *Arcadia* as 'a vain amatorious poem', was yet, without the slightest sacrifice of consistency, able to avail itself of pagan mythology and romantic fiction, as ornaments of an epic so essentially Christian in its structure as *Paradise Lost*. And it is on account of the grandly comprehensive humanity and the reconciling spirit of art which shine in his poetry, rather than of the bitter party eloquence of his treatises in prose, which Macaulay would exalt to an almost equal eminence, that the praises of posterity are gratefully and reverently offered to the immortal memory of Milton.

MILTON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1701–1750)

By EDWARD DOWDEN

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The influence of Milton on the literature of the eighteenth century was threefold—an influence on poetic style, independent in a great degree of poetic matter and therefore not wholly favourable to literature, during the first half of the century, felt in the main by writers who were not in a high sense original; secondly, an influence alike on sentiment and style, which formed one of the many affluents of the Romantic movement of the second half of the century, or, to be more exact, from about 1740 onwards; thirdly, an influence on thought, appearing at irregular intervals, but always associated with political liberalism or radicalism, from Birch and Benson and James Thomson to Hollis, Archdeacon Blackburne, and William Godwin in England, and to Mirabeau in France. The first of these modes of influence is chiefly connected with *Paradise Lost*, the second with Milton's earlier poems, the third with his prose writings.

Milton scholarship had more to do in the eighteenth than in the nineteenth century, and, setting aside the work of David Masson on Milton's life, it did much more in the earlier than in the later period. The first critical study in detail of an English poem is probably that by Addison of *Paradise Lost*. The first variorum edition of an English poet is Newton's edition of Milton. Early texts were collated, the Cambridge manuscripts were examined, sources were investigated, conjectural emendations were proposed, explanatory notes and parallels from classical, English, and Italian writers were accumulated, points of punctuation and peculiar spelling were considered, a verbal index was compiled, the poet's versification was studied, by the successive scholars of the eighteenth century. When Todd's first edition appeared in 1801 the harvest had in great measure been garnered. Even the excursions and alarms connected with Bentley's castigation

of *Paradise Lost*, with Lauder's forgeries, with Peck's ascription to Milton of a translation of Buchanan's *Baptistes*, and with the harsher sentences of Johnson's life of the poet, indicate the interest which was felt in all that concerned him. And if Addison was occupied with Milton's greatest English poem in years not far from the opening of the century, Cowper was engaged upon his Latin poetry in years which drew towards its close. The notes made in this paper touch only on work of the years from 1701 to 1750.

By the opening of the eighteenth century the fame of the author of *Paradise Lost* was established. Six editions of that poem had been published; it had received a commentary from Patrick Hume and pictorial illustrations of folio size, not of high excellence, but in the taste of the time; it had been translated into German; it had been translated into Latin. The Minor Poems had appeared in at least three editions. The Prose Works—English and Latin—had been collected in stately volumes. Milton had been eulogized in prose and in verse by Dryden. Somers and Atterbury had promoted the publication of the folio *Paradise Lost*, for which there were no fewer than five hundred subscribers. The publisher, Tonson, afterwards declared that the volume 'was so well received, notwithstanding the price was four times greater than before, [that] the sale increased double the number every year'. Aubrey had collected notes relating to Milton's life; Anthony Wood had given him a place in the *Athenae*; a biography by Edward Phillips was prefixed to the *Letters of State* in 1694; a fuller biography by Toland was published in 1698; three and a half large pages were devoted to Milton—the adversary of Salmasius—by Bayle in his *Dictionary*; before long Milton was to take his place in a new edition of Morhof's *Polyhistor*. And it should be remembered that Milton's fame rose in spite of the hostility awakened in many quarters by his political and, to some extent, by his religious opinions. When Phillips printed for the first time in 1694 the sonnet to Cromwell, it was considered expedient to omit the line which tells of trophies reared on the neck of crowned Fortune. When the prose works were printed in London, it seemed the part of discretion to name 'Amsterdam' on the title-page. When, in 1692, *A Defence of the People of England* was translated and printed without a publisher's name, the anonymous publisher added the titles of a list of books useful to correct the impression left by Milton of 'so great a Prince and so glorious a Martyr as the late King Charles the First'. The author of *The Vision of Purgatory* in 1680 placed Milton in that uncomfortable region, where he is discovered in earnest discourse with a Provincial of the Jesuits. The author of *Remarks on Toland's Life of*

Milton is more angry with the biographer than with the subject of his biography, but already the title 'Socinian' as well as that of 'Republican' is connected with Milton's name. When Winstanley represents the fame of Milton as having gone out like a candle in snuff, he knows that this effect defective came by cause—Milton was 'a most notorious traitor, and most impiously and villainously belied the blessed martyr, King Charles the First'. Grudging praise is given to Milton by Langbaine in 1691: 'Had his principles been as good as his parts, he had been an excellent person', but when Gildon a few years later edits Langbaine's *Dramatick Poets* the note is changed; Milton is now 'an author of that excellence of genius and learning, that none of any age or nation, I think, has excel'd him'.

So the seventeenth century closed, and the eighteenth century opens with a writer too frequently forgotten in connexion with the criticism of Milton. Dennis—not Addison—leads the way. And Dennis's point of view is of considerable interest. Through him the study of Milton connects itself with that quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns in France, which constitutes a kind of prologue to the history throughout the eighteenth century of the idea of human progress, an idea playing no unimportant part in the thought of the period. Dennis deplored the low estate to which English poetry had fallen at the date of Dryden's death. It seemed to him contemptible as art, and he knew that poetry, especially dramatic poetry, had within recent years offended against morals by grossness of sentiment and obscenity of language. The artistic poverty and the ethical offence, Dennis thought, were not unconnected. But how should poetry be reformed? For some of the aesthetic aberrations an observance of 'the Rules' might be a remedy; the rules are only nature and reason methodized. But poetry of a high order springs from the passions; it is here that true reformation must begin. The deepest and the loftiest passions of our nature are those connected with religion. That reform and that advancement of poetry which Dennis desired were, he maintained, to be hoped for especially from the inspiring influence of religious feeling and a sacred theme. He remembered the warnings of Boileau against decorating with ornament 'the terrible mysteries of the Christian faith', his warnings against the 'criminal mixture' of poetic fiction with sacred truth; and undoubtedly it is a hard matter to contrive 'machines' for an epic poem on a Christian subject. But if Boileau meant more than this, he was an erring guide. Dennis admits that the ancient poets excelled the modern; they did so because, in the first place, observing the rules, they were true to nature, and, in the second, they took

advantage of the enthusiasm derived from religion. But there is no reason why the order of comparative excellence should not be reversed; the Pagan religions were false; the Christian religion is true; and no one can question that the inspiration which springs from truth is of a nobler kind than that communicated by falsehood. The fact is obvious to reason; but, in addition to this, it has been established by one majestic example—that of a modern poet who surpassed all the ancients and all the moderns—our English Milton. Having cited in support of his doctrine a passage from *Paradise Lost*, the critic breaks forth: 'At the same time that the eye is ravishingly entertained, admiration is raised to a height and the reason is supremely satisfied.'

With these ardent words of John Dennis the criticism of Milton in the eighteenth century is introduced. They appear in his discourse on *The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry*, published in 1701, and dedicated to one who was himself a reformer, Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave. Dennis hoped to follow this with a much larger treatise, a volume in folio, to be published by subscription under the title *A Criticism upon our most celebrated English Poets Deceas'd*. A Proposal, with a specimen of the work, was issued, Dennis choosing as his specimen 'the substance of what will be said in the Beginning of the criticism of Mil-ton.'[1] Garth and others did something to obtain the half-guineas in advance from subscribers, to be followed by a second half-guinea on publication. The list includes some distinguished names, but the total number of persons who made the financial venture—some eighty and odd—did not seem to warrant the outlay necessary for a folio volume. During three months after the last subscription had come in Dennis worked on; then he lost heart, and printed in octavo (1704), with the Proposal and Specimen, a fragment of the great work, but a fragment in itself complete, entitled *The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry*. As in the earlier volume, so here he is concerned with the reformation and advancement of modern poetry, but he now distinguishes between the 'Greater' poetry, consisting of epic, tragedy, and the greater ode, and the 'Less', which includes comedy, the little ode, and satire. Milton, whose work belongs to the nobler order of poetry, is described as 'one of the greatest and most daring Genius's that has appeared in the World'; *Paradise Lost* is 'the greatest poem that ever was written by Man'; the author 'made his Country a glorious present of the most lofty, but most irregular, Poem that has been produc'd by the Mind of Man'. It is irregular because the superhuman theme

[1] I preserve the hyphened 'Mil-ton' of Dennis for Baconians, who have ascertained that 'Shake-speare' was a different person from the actor 'Shakspere'.

and superhuman characters do not permit an adherence to the rules of Aristotle, which rules Milton knew well and esteemed highly, but deliberately decided to disregard as inapplicable to his subject. It was not here that the poet's chief error lay; so long as he draws his enthusiasm from the highest religious conceptions he soars with no middle flight, and may soar free of the rules. But towards the close of the poem he descends from the wondrous works of God to tell, through the angel's speeches, and Adam's visions, of the works of corrupted man, from which could be derived no sort of enthusiasm; and least of all 'that admiration and terror which give the principal greatness and elevation to poetry'. It may be that when Philomela, whom unpoetical mortals knew then as Elizabeth Singer and afterwards as Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, published her *Divine Hymns and Poems* in 1704, 'in imitation of Mr. Milton,' she was responding to the pleadings of Dennis in his earlier discourse. He was himself a contributor to her volume.

Addison's papers in *The Spectator* were written not because *Paradise Lost* was unknown, but rather because it was well enough known to make many readers wish to know it better. Those of us who watched the growth of Robert Browning's fame can remember that the time when editors of reviews and magazines were most desirous to obtain an appreciation (as it is called) or an interpretation was not when he was the peculiar possession of a few admirers, but when he was widely read, and yet read with an imperfect comprehension which rendered the question void of offence—Understandest thou what thou readest? Several years before the *Spectator* papers appeared, the author of *The English Theophrastus* represented the aspirant to wit and critical talent of that date as slighting Shakespeare, Jonson, and Dryden, but he is 'a great admirer of the incomparable Milton', and 'fondly endeavours to imitate his Sublime'. Addison does not argue the position, but assumes at the outset, as something granted, that 'the first place among our English poets is due to Milton'. He was not the writer to force anything upon a reluctant public in a paper which had become popular. His mode of procedure was somewhat tentative; he did not feel sure that he could sustain the interest of his readers during a long series of articles, and he announced that the series would close with the seventh number. His bookseller assured him that for these papers there was an unusual demand. In fact the Saturdays of more than four months—eighteen numbers—were devoted to *Paradise Lost*. Addison had the advantage over Dennis of being unencumbered with a theory; he could insinuate his feeling for the beauties of the poem by more persuasive touches. He differed

from his predecessor by finding that Milton had in the main observed the rules of epic poetry; but he agrees with Dennis in thinking that the poem flags in the narrative of the history of mankind towards its close. Undoubtedly Addison contributed much to the intelligent enjoyment of Milton by those who already were prepared to enjoy his poetry; every admirer could justify his admiration by the latest authority. In 1712 Leonard Welsted published his translation of Longinus on the Sublime. Addressing an unnamed friend, who like Addison was a lover of *Chevy Chase*, Welsted refers to the *Spectator* articles. 'It's undoubtedly true of Milton,' he writes, 'that no man ever had a genius so happily form'd for the Sublime. . . . When I view him thus, in his most exalted flights, piercing beyond the boundaries of the Universe, he appears to me as a vast Comet, that for want of room is ready to burst its Orb and grow eccentrick.' Such enthusiasm did not now appear extravagant. But whether Addison's papers did much to widen the circle of Milton's readers in England remains uncertain. The pocket edition of *Paradise Lost*, published shortly before the appearance of the *Spectator* papers, was not succeeded by a new edition for eight years. Within the six years preceding Addison's criticism three editions had been published. Unless, however, we knew the number of copies in each edition, we could not draw a certain conclusion. Addison unquestionably, at a somewhat later date, influenced opinion in France, and prepared the way for translations which before very long were to make their appearance.

'English poetry,' writes Mr. Walter Raleigh, 'went Milton-mad during the earlier half of the eighteenth century.' He refers especially to the influence of Milton's blank verse and Milton's diction on certain poets from the author of *The Splendid Shilling* and *Cyder* onwards. The poetry of the second half of the century went Milton-mad under the influence of the minor poems, and in particular of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Thomas Warton, who edited with a learned devotion Milton's *Poems upon Several Occasions*, maintains that these were little known during the years from 1700 to about 1740. Addison commends *Comus* and mentions *L'Allegro*. Bentley in 1732 cites a line from *Comus*. But not a hemistich, says Warton, is quoted from any of Milton's earlier poems in the collections of those 'who digested the beauties or phrases of English poets from 1655 to 1738 inclusively'. Neither Bysshe, nor Gildon, nor Thomas Hayward in *The British Muse*, he declares, has quoted from those shorter pieces which he himself edited. Warton goes on to tell a story of his father, who once at Magdalen College mentioned in high terms

the volume of Milton's early poems to Digby, an intimate friend of Pope: 'Mr. Digby expressed much surprise that he had never heard Pope speak of them,' and, having questioned Pope as to whether he knew anything of this hidden treasure, he supposed that in this way Pope was led to discover them, for soon *Eloisa to Abelard* came forth (1717), and it was found to be 'sprinkled with epithets and phrases of a new form and sound, pilfered from *Comus* and the *Penseroso*'. Warton regarded it as a 'phenomenon' that Pope, 'a poet not of Milton's pedigree, should be their first copier'. Whatever we may think of Warton's story, it is certain that Pope was intimately acquainted with Milton's earlier poems long before the 'grots and caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn' passed from *Comus* into *Eloisa to Abelard.* In the pastoral *Summer* rough satyrs dance as rough satyrs danced in *Lycidas.* In *Autumn* the 'lab'ring oxen' retreat in their 'loose traces' from the field as the 'laboured ox' of *Comus* came in his 'loose traces' from the furrow. In a variation of a line in the *Essay on Criticism* Phoebus touches trembling ears as he touched trembling ears in *Lycidas.* In *Windsor Forest* fields are 'crown'd with tufted trees' as in *L'Allegro* towers and battlements are bosomed high in 'tufted trees'. Again, in *Windsor Forest* 'sullen Mole' hides his diving flood as 'sullen Mole' in the *Vacation Exercise* ran underneath. In *The Messiah* Isaiah's 'hallowed lips' are 'touched with fire' as in the *Nativity* the altar is 'touched with hallowed fire'. In 1713 Tonson published the pocket edition of Milton's poems other than *Paradise Lost,* but they were easily attainable in the earlier octavo, and before this date Pope's pilferings had begun.

Pope, as Warton expresses it, is not of Milton's pedigree, and, though on occasions he borrows a phrase, he maintains his own manner with excellent discretion. He adopts a happy turn of language, but he does not yield to the influence of Milton's style. The error of Philips and other versifiers was to suppose that 'the numbers of Milton'—the words are Johnson's—'which impress the mind with veneration, combined as they are with subjects of inconceivable grandeur, could be sustained by images which at most can rise only to elegance'. The poetic diction of the eighteenth century, against which Wordsworth made his protest, is in large measure due, as Mr. Raleigh has shown, to the plastering of a Miltonic manner over themes with which it had no proper correspondence. 'The diction which Milton had invented for the rendering of his colossal imaginations was applied indifferently to all subjects—to apple-growing, sugar-boiling, the drainage of the Bedford level, the breeding of negroes, and the distempers of sheep. Thomson in *The Seasons*

had a certain magnificence of his own; but how often when his subject drops to a level does he endeavour to maintain a pomp of language. With the aid of Zippel's recent edition of *The Seasons* it is now easy to trace out his more particular and definite obligations to *Paradise Lost* and to Milton's earlier poems. Young's staccato blank verse was his own; the theatric gestures, the start of histrionic surprise are peculiarly his; yet in his choice of topics and in his way of imagining them he is often under Milton's sway, and not always to his advantage. But Pope was prudent, and stood instinctively on his guard against any influence which might confuse the law of the rimed couplet. The ripples of Canaletto belong to another realm of water than that of the live and shouldering surges of Turner's open sea. 'Milton's style,' observes Pope, as recorded in Spence's *Anecdotes*, 'is not natural; 'tis an exotic style. As his subject lies a good deal out of our world, it has a particular propriety in those parts of the poem: and when he is on earth, when he is describing our parents in Paradise, you see he uses a more natural and easy way of writing. Though his formal style may fit the higher parts of his own poem, it does very ill for others who write on natural and pastoral subjects. Philips in his *Cyder* has succeeded extremely well in his imitation of it, but was quite wrong in endeavouring to imitate it on such a subject.' Pope knew his province and his place. In 1711 he told Caryll in a letter that he had the pictures of Dryden, Milton, and Shakespeare in his chamber that the constant remembrance of them might keep him humble. Whether they produced that desirable effect may be doubtful; but he certainly did not aspire to be Shakespearean or Miltonic.

It is no part of the purpose of this paper to trace the growth of Milton's fame outside England. A branch of that subject is dealt with in Dr. J. Martin Telleen's thesis, *Milton dans la Littérature française*. But Voltaire was in England when he published his *Essay on Epic Poetry*, and in English the book is written. A line of research pursued with zeal to the close of the century—the investigation of Miltonic sources, and especially the sources of *Paradise Lost*—seems to have originated with Voltaire. Milton, he supposed, and stated as a fact, had seen at Florence a representation of the *Adamo* of Andreini, and while the youthful poet had perceived the absurdity of the Italian drama, he yet recognized the majesty of the subject. In the course of time a score of possible sources, ranging from the poems ascribed to Cædmon down to the *Adamo Caduto* of Serafino della Salandra, were named, and Lauder in his forgeries took advantage at a comparatively early date of the curiosity which had

been aroused. In his Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, Masson recites the names of many of these books which have been connected with Milton's epic, and dismisses the scholarship squandered in this field with the summary sentence: 'For the most part it is laborious nonsense'. From his enumeration he omits a work which seems to me to have a better claim for inclusion than many that are mentioned, the *Protoplastus* of Hieronymus Ziegler, which stands first among the Latin *Dramata Sacra*, published at Basel in 1547 under the editorship of Oporinus. Through Charles Diodati, and his uncle Dr. John Diodati, Milton had personal relations with Switzerland, where the book was published. He had himself made some stay at Geneva. He had contemplated many subjects from the Old Testament with a view to dramatic treatment, and such volumes as these—had he happened to see them—could not fail to interest him. Among the dramas here given is a *Samson*, and this also is by Ziegler. It was noticed by Lauder, in his research, partly genuine, partly fraudulent, for Milton's sources, that this Ziegler is mentioned by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, as a writer of divers tragi-comedies and other dramatic pieces out of the Old and New Testaments; both *Protoplastus* and *Samson* are named by Phillips. There may be a portion of truth, though much exaggerated, in Lauder's supposition that Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum* is little more than an account of the poetical authors in his uncle's library. Lauder, however, with all his discoveries, failed to see a copy of the *Dramata Sacra*, nor does Todd—at least to the date of his second edition (1809)—appear to have been acquainted with those somewhat rare volumes, which yet were known to Edward Phillips. If Milton ever looked into Ziegler's Latin play he would have found there the whole story of the creation of man and woman, the machinations of Lucifer, Belial, and Satan, the celebration of God's works by Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael, the temptation of Eve, the fall of our first parents, the expulsion from Paradise, and a recital of the long series of woes coming upon the earth, as assigned to the lips of a cherub in the closing scene. Lauder, had he come across the *Protoplastus*, might have made as good a case for Ziegler, among the authors whom Milton plundered, as he did for Ramsay or Masenius.

That Milton had read *Protoplastus* seems a not unreasonable conjecture. But however this may be, I venture to affirm with confidence—and perhaps what I shall say has been already pointed out—that one of the conjectured sources of *Paradise Lost*, commonly referred to as an original Italian drama, is no more than a translation or a rehandling of the *Protoplastus*. Joseph Cooper Walker, author of the *Historical*

Memoir on Italian Tragedy (1799), made William Hayley acquainted with 'a literary curiosity' which he obtained on a recent visit to Italy, *La Scena Tragica d' Adamo ed Eva*, by Troilo Lancetta (Venice, 1644). I have never had an opportunity of seeing Walker's literary curiosity, but Hayley gives an analysis of the play, scene by scene, which may be read in Todd's second edition of Milton's *Poetical Works* (vol. ii, pp. 236–8), and some quotations are made by Walker in the Appendix to his *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*. A comparison of these with Ziegler's Latin drama will leave no doubt on the mind of any student that Lancetta is little more than a translator. In Lancetta's address to the reader occurs a passage which Hayley fancied to have had the effect of turning Milton's mind from his original design of a dramatic treatment of the theme to the epic treatment actually adopted. In a dream Moses appears and assures the sleeper that from such a subject 'an heroic poem worthy of demi-gods' might be formed. This address to the reader is found only in Lancetta, but little reliance can be placed on the ingenious guess of Hayley.

Before Voltaire's *Essay on Epic Poetry* was published Fenton's edition of *Milton's Poems* had appeared, with a short life of the author (1725). Here *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and *Lycidas* are justly honoured—'all written', says Fenton, 'in such exquisite strain that though Milton had left no other monument of his genius behind him, his name had been immortal.' Fenton undertook to revise the punctuation of the poems; as a fact he made a few emendations of the text, and perhaps overlooked a few printers' errors; he has been censured for 'ignorance, want of taste, and silly officiousness'. He ought rather to be commended for the exercise of considerable discretion. Monk, the biographer of Bentley, supposes that it was Fenton's example which led that great scholar to exercise his critical ingenuity in castigating the received text of *Paradise Lost*. To repeat a story told at length by Monk and briefly by Sir Richard Jebb would be a superfluity. On one important point the biographers of Bentley differ. Bentley, as is well known, directs not a few of his most disdainful comments against an imagined editor and reviser of the blind poet's work, who saw *Paradise Lost* through the press, altered it at his pleasure, and adorned it with various purple patches of his own nonsense or pretentious, schoolboy learning. Monk suggests that, without seriously attempting to impose on the public, Bentley manufactured this man of straw, awkwardly enough, as a device to take off the odium incurred by his frequent condemnation or alteration in margin or footnotes of the words of the poet. Thus

it was not Milton whom Bentley assailed with scornful criticism, but the unknown editor, fraudulent, ignorant, devoid of judgement and of taste. Jebb, on the contrary, quoting from Bentley's Preface a passage which he supposes, on slender grounds, to negative this opinion, declares his conviction that the theory of the fraudulent editor was broached by Bentley in perfect good faith. Neither biographer notices the fact that from the first it had been conjectured that Bentley's man of straw was but a politic device. And, indeed, from an early date it was asserted that Bentley had himself admitted that he did not really credit the theory which he had set forth. Johnson in his *Life of Milton* gives his decision in magisterial fashion against Bentley and his theory: 'a supposition rash and groundless, if he thought it true; and vile and pernicious, if, as is said, he in private allowed it to be false.' These words were written some forty-five years after the publication of Bentley's *Paradise Lost*. But nearly thirty years earlier Johnson had rashly supplied Lauder with a preface and a postscript to his *Essay on Milton's use and imitation of the Moderns* (1750), and there Lauder asserted not only that Bentley's phantom or persona of an editor was 'a mere chimaera', but that the doctor himself well knew the thing to be impossible, which he 'scrupled not to acknowledge on proper occasions'. We can go still further back in search for the origin of Monk's hypothesis. Bentley's quarto was published by Tonson in 1732. Several numbers of *The Grub Street Journal*, with which Pope was closely connected, in the course of that year, are in part devoted to the defence of Milton, or rather to the more congenial task of belabouring the person of the aged, but still alert and combative, Master of Trinity. In the number for May 25, a vigorous opponent, signing himself 'A. Z.', comes forward with two letters written during the preceding month. In one of these the writer challenges the statement of Bentley that his notes were 'made *extempore*, and put to the press as soon as made'. A. Z. had learnt from a gentleman, who was ready, if called on, to attest the truth of what he stated with his name, that six years previously—in other words, shortly after the publication of Fenton's edition—Bentley's friend Ashenhurst declared at Bristol that the Doctor was then engaged in making notes on Milton; neither did he speak of it as a work just then taken in hand. Mitford in the Advertisement of his edition of *Milton's Poetical Works* (1834) informs us that he was in possession of the copy of Tonson's *Paradise Lost* used by Bentley for the purpose of recording his emendations and conjectures, and that the corrections published by Bentley, which number over eight hundred, are only a selection from a much larger mass remaining upon the

margin of that copy. It may be that Bentley worked during several years at a leisurely pace, and ultimately dictated the final form of his notes in haste, for the troubles in connexion with the Mastership of Trinity were urgent, and the later books of his *Paradise Lost* give indications of a hurry upon his spirits. In his second communication to *The Grub Street Journal* A. Z. considers the question of Bentley's sincerity and good faith. He lays aside the notion that Bentley was setting a trap to ensnare others into a belief in what he knew himself to be false; nor can he suppose that the Doctor doatingly takes his own dreams and fancies for realities. Discovering something like a parallel in Bentley's attribution to Dr. Colbatch, whom he wanted to pelt with mud, of a work known to be written by Middleton, A. Z. proceeds: 'Dr. Bentley knew it would be very impolitic to exercise this talent [his talent for abuse] against Milton; and therefore [he] conjures up this apparition of an editor (or by the help of a strong imagination persuades himself that there indeed was such an one) whom he may brand with scurrilous names at pleasure, give vent to his spleen, and raise the indignation of no man.'

No one who has examined Bentley's work with care can suppose that he was merely concerned to recover what Milton wrote. In some instances his conjectures go at least upon legitimate lines. They may be bad, or they may be needless, but in method they belong to the same species as legitimate corrections. For example, when in Book VII for Milton's

> And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth,
> One Kingdom, Joy and Union without end,

Bentley proposes to read—

> And Earth be chain'd to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth,
> One Kingdom, join'd in Union without end,

we reject the proposed reading, but it is conceivable that *chained*, if dictated by the blind poet, might have been erroneously heard as *changed*, and again that *joined* might have been set down by the scribe as *Joy and*, so determining the printed text. But there are scores and hundreds of instances where Bentley's proposals can mean nothing except that he himself could write more correctly than Milton. The critic wholly reconstructs the original to suit his better judgement, omits a line or passage because he disapproves it, or adds a line because he imagines that such an addition is an advantage to the poem. He honoured the genius of Milton, but he believed that Milton was often deficient in clarity and precision of intellect, in the exact logic of poetic thought, and in that delicacy of

ear which refuses to tolerate a harshness or obstruction when difficulties in sound by a little skill can easily be smoothed away. Bentley's response to the suggestion of Queen Caroline should be a reformed *Paradise Lost*, not merely as Milton *did* write the poem in certain passages, but also as he *ought* to have written it in many others. Perhaps, as he proceeded with his task, the notion of a dishonest reviser and editor of the poem occurred to him, and that in the end he persuaded himself that the creature of his imagination might have existed. But his design is wider in scope than the correction of errors of the press, wider in scope even than the exhibition of his supposed editor's misdoings. The design is nothing less than to show how *Paradise Lost* must have been written had Milton the advantage of an eighteenth-century Aristarchus at his elbow. A comparison of Bentley's annotations with the replies in detail of Zachary Pearce is instructive in its disclosure of the ways in which the intellect—intellect of various degrees of fineness and flexibility—deals with work of the imagination. Pearce, like Bentley, is a critic of his own time, but his judgements are surer than Bentley's, partly because he has the grace of modesty, and partly because they do not always rest upon data furnished by the intellect alone.

Sir Richard Jebb pointed to one proposal of Bentley's as the sole emendation likely to be what Milton actually wrote, and at the same time certainly what he ought to have written. From the gash inflicted on Satan by the sword of Michael issues (Book VI, l. 332) a stream of 'nectarous humour'. 'An odious blunder!' cries Bentley, 'whether the printer's or the editor's hard to conjecture.' Read, therefore, as Milton gave it, 'ichorous humour'. In several instances, as where he would substitute *its* for *his*, the errors of Bentley arise from his ignorance of the history of the English language. It seems, if we may draw a conclusion from the examples given in the *New English Dictionary*, to have been left to Hobbes in 1676—a date after Milton's death—to use *ichor* for the first time in the sense of the ethereal juice which flows in the veins of the gods. When Diomedes wounds Venus in the fifth book of the *Iliad*, Chapman does not venture to anglicize the Greek *ichor*; immortal blood flows from the wound. The word *ichor* in Milton's time would seem to have been used only in a special physiological or pathological sense; it was, we may venture to think, a scientific, not a poetical, word. Neither *ichor* nor *ichorous* is anywhere to be found in Milton's *Poetical Works*. But *nectar* and the adjective *nectared* are words which he had used from an early date; the head of the Fair Infant who had died of a cough is a 'nectared head'; Lycidas laves his oozy locks with

nectar; in *Paradise Lost* brooks run nectar, vines yield nectar. To introduce into Milton's text a word which he never uses, and which perhaps was never used by an English writer until after the publication of *Paradise Lost* in the sense required, were indeed rash; and it is somewhat suggestive of the risks attending conjectural emendation to note that the adjective *nectarous*, which our great classical scholars Bentley and Jebb would displace, is a word so Miltonic that perhaps to him it may owe its origin. No earlier example is cited in the *New English Dictionary* than the 'nectarous draughts' of the fifth book of *Paradise Lost*.

The few instances in which Bentley established the true text of Milton, or suggested a highly probable reading, escaped the notice of Jebb among the eight hundred and odd proposals of that rash and presumptuous—yet intellectually acute—critic. It did not require eminent genius to notice that in B. vii, l. 451, 'Let th' Earth bring forth Fowle living in her kind' the printer had mistaken a long *s* for an *f* in his manuscript, and that Milton's word was *soul*, not *fowl*; but the error had been repeated in a series of editions and was not corrected until 1732. The handsome quarto has, therefore, certainly served Milton scholarship to the extent of a single letter. In the same seventh book, l. 321, Bentley's conjecture 'the swelling gourd' for the previous 'smelling gourd' has found some favour with editors and critics. It was approved by Upton in his *Critical Observations on Shakespeare*; Keightley introduced it into his text; Masson rejects it, but so cautious and judicious a scholar as Dr. W. Aldis Wright reads with Bentley (and the Capell MS.) 'the swelling gourd'. Bentley should also be given credit for reading *hither* in place of *thither* in B. xi, l. 344, though here he is only reverting unawares to the earlier text which had been corrupted in the edition of 1705. If all were collected from Bentley's notes that can be regarded as having value for the student of Milton only a few grains of wheat would lie in the hollow of the hand. And yet the spectacle of the great scholar confidently and joyously engaged in his labour of destruction which he supposed to be a labour of reformation, while compassed round with the infirmities of seventy years, and exposed to the assaults of his adversaries—his mind, as he expresses it, 'shaking off all outward uneasinesses, and involving itself, secure and pleased, in its own integrity and entertainment'—this spectacle is inspiriting, and reminds us of another combatant who bated not a jot of heart or hope, but still bore up and steered right onward.

As editor of *Paradise Lost* the old man became the object for many insults and mockeries. But his most accomplished and most effective

antagonist, Zachary Pearce, who followed him from line to line in a volume wholly devoted to a review of his edition, was hardly less courteous than he was patient. Jonathan Richardson, though Bentley was often in his mind as he brought to a conclusion his *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost,* abstains, I think, from mentioning Bentley's name. Richardson, when his volume appeared, was little short of Bentley's age when, two years previously, he had published his quarto. He had loved and honoured Milton from the days of his youth. His bent for portrait-painting had led him at an early age to become a pupil of Riley. He cared for poetry only less than he cared for painting, and above all other poets he esteemed Shakespeare, Dryden, and Cowley. In Riley's studio he happened to find a copy of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, and, in his own phrase, 'was dazzled with it'. 'From that hour,' he writes, 'all the rest faded in my estimation, or vanished.' The fruit of his studies appeared about half a century later, and while what is best worth preserving in the notes has been incorporated in the editions of Newton and Todd, the Introduction, which consists of more than 180 pages, will always have an importance of its own, for Richardson gathered recollections of Milton from those who had personal acquaintance with him and recorded these with affectionate reverence. He associates on the title-page the name of his son, who was also a portrait-painter, with his own. The elder Richardson was not a classical scholar; his time of learning was employed, he says, in business; and then with an outbreak of paternal affection he adds: 'But after all I have the Greek and Latin tongues, I have them because a part of me possesses them, to whom I can recur at pleasure, just as I have a hand when I write or paint, feet to walk, and eyes to see. My son is my learning, as I am that to him which he has not; we make one man.' Richardson was perhaps the first to comment intelligently on Milton's peculiarities of spelling, *thir* for *their*, *mee* for *me*, when emphasis is required, and others; his care is evinced by the fact that he notices the existence of some differences of text in different copies of the first edition of *Paradise Lost.* He indulged a fancy of his own for beginning a sentence or a paragraph without the usual capital letter, when the first word was unemphatic, and sometimes he followed Milton's example in doubling the final *e*; thus on p. cxxxiv the unemphatic *we* and the emphatic *Wee* may both be found. The portrait of Milton prefixed as a frontispiece to Richardson's volume is worthy of notice; it is his rehandling of a crayon drawing, doubtfully ascribed to Faithorne, but not identical with the drawing from which the portrait in *The History of Britain* (1670) was engraved. This crayon, which passed into Tonson's possession,

was photographed in 1861 by permission of Mr. Baker, of Bayfordbury, Herts, for Sotheby's *Ramblings in Elucidation of the autograph of Milton.* It will be remembered that De Quincey considered that the frontispiece of Richardson's volume might serve as an admirable portrait of Wordsworth, an opinion emphatically negatived in my hearing by Wordsworth's friend, Robert Perceval Graves. Richardson endeavoured to add vigour to his original, and placed a laurel wreath upon the hair; 'all the world,' he says, 'has given it to Milton long since.' The crayon drawing then in Richardson's possession disputes with the lost original of the 1670 engraving the claim to have been the likeness which drew forth from Milton's daughter Dorothy the exclamation ''Tis my father! 'tis my dear father! I see him! 'tis the very man!' I may add that I possess two pencil drawings on vellum by Jonathan Richardson, of which one, dated 1734, the year in which he published his *Explanatory Notes,* is evidently from the crayon drawing; it has the advantage of hair uncrowned; the other, dated 1737, is a profile—possibly an attempt to imagine Milton's face as presented in the crayon from a wholly different point of view. As the work of a skilled and conscientious artist interested in his subject, the experiment is not without value.[1]

It was from Richardson's drawing that Vertue engraved the bust which appears in the first volume of Birch's edition of the *Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of Milton,* published in two folio volumes in 1738. The arrangement of the works by Birch aims at being chronological. Birch includes *Concerning the reasons of the War with Spain,* which Toland had omitted, and he adds certain pages—the authenticity of which has been questioned—to the *History of Britain*; these pages, supposed by Birch to have been excised by the licencer, were perhaps omitted, as irrelevant, by Milton himself. His account of Milton's Life adds some particulars to what had previously been known; he examined the Cambridge manuscripts, and recorded many of their various readings; and his notes upon the growth of Milton's fame in England and on the Continent are fuller than any preceding treatment of the subject. He for the first time printed those remarkable lines beginning 'Fair mirror of foul times', alleged to have been written at Chalfont during the plague—lines which, if not by Milton, have caught the movement of his verse in a remarkable degree. Birch's objection to their authenticity—that the choice of war, pestilence, or famine is said to have been offered to

[1] Dr. G. C. Williamson informs me that one of these is the original drawing for the engraving No. 117, and the other that for No. 190 of his large paper catalogue of Portraits, &c., of Milton, 1908.

David in connexion with his 'sin for the fair Hittite' instead of with his numbering of the army—is somewhat lightly set aside by Masson in his *Life of Milton*; but there is force in the objection, for in *Paradise Regained* (B. III. l. 410) the poet shows that he was not forgetful of this passage of the Old Testament.

Birch's bulky folios were not of a nature to add much to the popularity of Milton. But a Miltonic enthusiasm was in the air. In the preceding year Mr. Auditor Benson erected a monument to Milton in Westminster Abbey; he produced a Milton medal, employed Rysbrack to make two busts, and gave £1,000 to William Dobson for a translation of *Paradise Lost* into Latin verse. Two years after the publication of Birch's Prose Works appeared (1740) the quarto volume *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton*, by Francis Peck, described by Masson as a 'silly medley of odds and ends', a volume adorned with a finely engraved pseudo-portrait, and containing the curious pseudo-Miltonic translation of Buchanan's *Baptistes*, yet, notwithstanding its silliness, not without some value for those who will take the pains to turn over its pages. *Baptistes*, laughed at by Warburton, was accepted as genuine by William Lauder. The anonymous essay on *Milton's Imitation of the Ancients* followed in 1741; in the same year was published *A verbal Index to Paradise Lost*, and Paterson's *Complete Commentary* on that poem was issued in 1744. As yet Milton's early poems had received comparatively little attention; they waited in a half obscurity to obtain due recognition from the Romantic revival. But in the year of Birch's folios, 1738, the way was prepared for a popular reception of this part of Milton's work by the presentation on the Drury Lane stage of Dr. Dalton's version of *Comus*, with added characters, added speeches, and songs set to the charming music of Dr. Arne. It seems not improbable that the success of Arne's music led Handel two years later to set to music the arrangement by Charles Jennens of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Handel's *Samson*—composed at an earlier date—was performed in 1743. Dalton's *Comus* should be judged with reference to the purpose at which it aimed; the *Mask*, as written by Milton, might please an audience fit, though few; it could not be a popular success. But a popular success *Comus* was, and the public reputation of Milton owes something to the acting of Quin and, at a later date, of Henderson, to the voice of Kitty Clive, and afterwards to that of Ann Catley. Though some of the songs are trivial, and some are modish, Dalton's work is not without a certain skill and ingenuity. A second Attendant Spirit supports the Lady as the first guides and encourages the brothers; the crew of the enchanter bustles

with male and female singers. Comus opens the third act with lines from *L'Allegro* invoking Euphrosyne, and presently the goddess fair and free, or rather a nymph who represents her, enters singing of

> Pulses beating, bosoms burning,
> Bosoms with warm wishes panting,
> Words to speak those wishes wanting,

and more in the like amorous strain. A pastoral nymph, with a melancholy and despondent air, tells in a musical ballad, how she seeks in vain for Damon. And the spectators are presently gratified with a slow dance 'expressive of the passions of love'. Queen Caroline had befriended Milton's daughter; Dr. Johnson befriended his granddaughter by contributing a Prologue to *Comus*, spoken by Garrick, when in 1750 it was acted for her benefit at Drury Lane :—

> What though she shine with no Miltonian fire,
> No fav'ring Muse her morning dreams inspire;
> Yet softer claims the melting heart engage,
> Her youth laborious, and her blameless age;
> Hers the mild merits of domestic life,
> The patient sufferer and the faithful wife

Quin's rendering of the part of Comus at the earlier presentation of the play was distinguished by something that seemed to the spectators like superhuman dignity and grace. 'With what a superior greatness,' cries a critic, 'does he introduce himself to us by his manner of delivering the glorious lines that open his part:—

> The star that bids the shepherd fold,
> Now the top of heaven doth hold'

He courted the lady as a superior, as a deity condescending to a mortal. The enthusiastic critic goes on to affirm that 'if anything claims the title of being the greatest sentence, and most nobly pronounced of any on the English theatre, it is that threat of Comus to the lady, where, on her offering to get up to leave him, he tells her,

> Nay, lady, sit—if I but wave this wand
> Your nerves are all bound up in alabaster,
> And you a statue; or as Daphne was,
> Root-bound, who fled Apollo'

The *Mask*, as Milton named it, and as it is usually named previous to 1738, came perhaps to be commonly known as *Comus* after its presentation with that title on the stage. In 1773 it was abridged by the elder Colman, and in this form was presented as an after-piece.

The half-century with which the notes in this paper are concerned

closed with the controversy aroused by William Lauder's impudent *Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns*, while Newton's great edition of the Poetical Works (1749–52) lies exactly on this side and on that of the year 1751, and sums up the labours of more than fifty years of study. The story of Lauder, his real services to Milton scholarship, his audacious forgeries, his exposure and his confession, is too long to be told here.

MILTON AS SCHOOLBOY AND SCHOOLMASTER

By A. F. LEACH

Read December 10, 1908

Probably in none of our famous men, certainly in none among our great poets, is it easier to see and to show that the child was father of the man than in Milton. Instead of being, as the vulgar usually imagine of a poet, a kind of Puck, or, at the best, an Ariel, wafted on the wings of wantonness hither and thither in irresponsible vagaries, Milton passed all but one and a half of his sixty-six years in the close circle of staid and sober home life. His alarms and excursions were those of the mind out of the body. It is therefore not surprising that his school-days had a permanent impression on Milton's views and works.

I. Milton as Schoolboy.

Milton's school was St. Paul's School, the 'Free Scole of Poules', as Colet called it, the Grammar School of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, to give it its older and more exact title. This was the obvious school for a London citizen's son living in Bread Street, being then not in the distant suburb of Hammersmith, but at the east end of St. Paul's Churchyard, in the very centre of civic life, not one hundred yards from his home. Moreover, the fact that it was a Free School, free of tuition fees for all its one hundred and fifty-three day-scholars, strictly limited by the number of the seats, would not have been without its attraction to a thrifty scrivener. All we certainly know of Milton's school life is when it had come to an end. This we only know from the record of the admission at Christ's College, Cambridge, Feb. 12, 1624–5, of John Milton of London, son of John, at school under Mr. Gill, high master of St. Paul's, or, as it stands in the affected Latin of the day, in the original, 'instituted in the elements of letters under Master Gill, prefect of the Pauline gymnasium,' using a term for school now fortunately confined to Germany.

It must be confessed that almost everything else to do with Milton's school-days depends not on documentary evidence, not even on 'oral tradition', but on inference and conjecture. But where would biographers and commentators be if the *Lives of the Poets* was all plain sailing on the sea of fact? No register of admissions or school lists of St. Paul's School exist before 1748. So at least it is said, though, as the records of the Mercers' Company, who were for three and a half centuries the sole governors of the school, and are still a chief part of its governing body, have never been opened to research, it is by no means certain that no admission lists exist. The non-existence of a register is a breach of duty, for an admission book was contemplated by the statutes of 1518, it being provided that: 'a chylde at the first admission onys for ever shall pay 4*d.* for writynge of his name. This mony . . . shall the pore scoler have that swepith the Scole and kepith the Scole cleane.' Still no list is forthcoming.

Anthony Wood (*Fasti* 262), who cites a 'friend who was well acquainted with, and had from him [Milton] and from his relations after his death most of this account', sends him to Cambridge at the age of fifteen, and speaks of his staying up late at night at College 'as at school for three years before'. From this it was computed that Milton entered St. Paul's in 1622, or the end of 1621. As, however, Milton's lifelong friendship with Charles Diodati was a school friendship, and Diodati went to Oxford in Feb. 1621-2, Professor Masson rightly infers that we must allow more than a possible term for the friendship to ripen. He therefore enters him at St. Paul's in 1620. As on entering Cambridge in 1624 Milton was not fifteen but sixteen and a quarter years old, this gives him a school life not of three years but of four. But boys went to public schools much earlier then than now. It is only in the last fifty years that the growth of preparatory schools and competition for scholarships has postponed the age, first to twelve and now to thirteen. In Milton's day, and for many years after, seven was the normal age for boys to go to school, especially to a day-school, as St. Paul's was. His contemporary Charles Hoole, in his *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School,* written in 1637, and practised for fourteen years, first at Rotherham and then in London, sets out a seven years' course, beginning at seven years old as the normal age.

As Milton was already astonishing the household with his Latin verses at the age of eleven, i.e. in 1618, and verses were not done till the 4th form, which he would in the usual course reach in three years, we may send him to school more safely in 1615. Even if we take Jansen's poetic portrait of Milton at the age of ten as a

charming apple-cheeked boy with brown eyes as marking the beginning of his life in the world of school, he would have gone there in 1618. Milton's own account of his early learning certainly points to an earlier date than 1620. For while he records[1] how at twelve years old he began to sit up to midnight to do his lessons, he implies that he had been to school before he began that vicious practice.

> My father destined me while yet a little boy for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight; which, indeed, was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches. All which not retarding my impetuosity in learning, he caused me to be daily instructed both at the grammar school and under other masters at home; and then, when I had acquired various tongues and also some not insignificant taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge.

On a boy of Milton's temperament the associations of the school must have had no small influence. St. Paul's School, though in its building it was only 'the newe scolc of Poules', as Colet dubbed it almost a century before, was, as an institution, at least 500 years, and probably 800 years, older. For it was the old Cathedral Grammar School, part of the foundation of the Cathedral Church.

There is still extant among the archives of St. Paul's the actual deed in which, about 1112, Bishop Richard Belmeis records, not, as stated by Bishop Stubbs, the foundation of the school, but the confirmation to a new master, 'Hugh the schoolmaster (*magistro scolarum*) *ex officio* as master, and his successors in that dignity, the place of Master Durand [the late master] in the angle of the tower where Dean William placed him by my order.' The tower was the bell-tower of the Cathedral, which, as usual in early days, stood detached from the church, and was at the east end of the churchyard. Here the school stood till Colet built a new schoolhouse a few yards to the north, in 1512, on the site of the later building, which still bears the inscription that it is St. Paul's school. Still extant also is the actual appointment by the same bishop, about 1120, of the next master, granting to 'Canon Henry, foster son of master Hugh, St. Paul's school as honourably as the church ever held it at its best and most honourable estate' with an endowment of lands and tithes at Fulham, Ealing, and Madeley. Still more interesting is a third document, also still to be seen, of the year 1137 or 1138, by which Bishop Henry of Blois, King Stephen's brother, Bishop of Winchester, holding the bishopric of London during a vacancy in the See, directed

[1] Milton, *Defensio Secunda* (*Works*, vi. 286).

the chapter of St. Paul's and the Archdeacon of London to 'pronounce sentence of excommunication against those who without the leave of Schoolmaster Henry presume to teach, in the whole city of London, except those who teach the schools of St. Mary le Bow and St. Martin le Grand.' So important in those days did the highest ecclesiastical authorities esteem the schools, that here, as elsewhere, the thunders of the Church were invoked to protect the authorized schoolmasters' monopoly and put down unlicensed infringers of it. No overlapping was allowed in those days. The reason for the exemption of St. Mary le Bow was that it was a 'peculiar' of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the seat of his principal ecclesiastical court, then as now called the Court of Arches, and so was extra diocesan to London; while St. Martin le Grand was a collegiate church with a Dean and Canons almost as ancient and privileged as St. Paul's itself, and the deanery itself was or was about to be held by Bishop Henry of Blois himself.

St. Paul's school, called, *par excellence*, the school of the city (*scole urbis*), is recorded by Fitzstephen, who had himself been Dean of the Arches and afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court, to have been attended in his youth, about 1118, by St. Thomas the Martyr, better known as Thomas à Becket, before he went to the nascent University of Paris. Becket's biographer records not only the boys' studies, but their sports. How on feast-days, saints' days, they met in the churches and held disputations. The schools then, when Oxford University was just being born, performed in part the office of universities.

> The elder scholars spoke argumentatively, others by way of question and answer. These roll out enthymemes, those use the form of perfect syllogisms. Some dispute merely for show as they do at collections, others for truth. The rhetoricians . . . observe the precepts of their art and omit nothing belonging to it. The boys of the three schools hold contests in verse or prose with each other on the principles of grammar or the rules of preterites and supines. Others in epigrams, rhymes and metres use the old street gags, with Fescennine licence scourging their schoolfellows . . . without mentioning names they hurl abusive epithets at them, with Socratic salt girding at their failings or perhaps those of their elders, and in bold dithyrambics biting them with the sharp tooth of Theon. The audience ready to laugh with wrinkled noses redouble their shrill guffaws.

This striking passage and its termination, which is a quotation from Persius, are of themselves sufficient to refute the absurd notion which has become current that the old grammar schools taught boys nothing but how to stumble through the Psalms with a few Gregorian chants.

St. Paul's School still retained its pre-eminence in the days of Chaucer, who, we can hardly doubt, was one of its scholars. In 1394 a Bill in Parliament to set up other schools was rejected. The first known addition to the schools of London was in 1420, when we find a grammar schoolmaster at St. Michael's, Cornhill, receiving a royal ward as pupil. In 1442 St. Anthony's School was established in St. Anthony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street, under royal auspices with exhibitions to Oriel College, its head master receiving the same salary and emoluments as the head master of Eton, founded two years before. In Stow's boyhood, this school, at which he seems to have been himself, numbered over 200 boys, and in the yearly disputations at St. Bartholomew's, which still continued as in Becket's day, used to eclipse its Pauline rival. It was this old school of St. Paul's with all its traditions and 'its rights, privileges, and appurtenances whatsoever', and the old school building with four shops under it, which Dean Colet, under the special authority of Pope, bishop, dean, and chapter, and the King, bought from himself and his fellow-canons in 1510, and transferred to his new school, the chapter specially reserving to the high master of the new school, whether he was priest or layman, a stall in the choir of the cathedral church, the same as the old one enjoyed, so long as he appeared in a decent surplice. In fact, what Colet did for St. Paul's School was, not to found a new school, but to make a new scheme for an old one of immemorial antiquity, giving it a new governing body, the Mercers' Company, laymen, instead of himself and his chapter, a large additional endowment, and a fine new building. The school was still reckoned as an appendage of the church. The boys still walked in the processions of the Canons, while such processions still prevailed, and still attended the cathedral church on high days and holidays. Much of this high tradition and ancient history must have been known to Milton, as part of it is told, though with some grievous blunders, in Stow's *Survey of London*, which we may be sure was to be found in the book-loving household in Bread Street, and often quoted in St. Paul's School. It is certain that the *genius loci* had its effect on his mind. For it was not at Cambridge or at Horton parish church, but as a boy of St. Paul's School, attending St. Paul's Cathedral, that he learned to

> love the high embowèd roof,
> With antique pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light:
> There let the pealing organ blow
> To the full-voiced choir below

In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies
And bring all heaven before mine eyes.

The small chamber of Christ's College Chapel, even Great St. Mary's itself, certainly could not have given the experience which drew from this young Puritan a loftier, a more effective, and more exact picture of an ancient church, a solemn service, and sweet music than any Laudian mumbler of ceremonies ever dreamt of.

Further, when Milton uttered the wish

But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloisters pale,

he was probably reproducing the actual experience of his youth. For the cloisters of St. Paul's were almost contiguous to the school; and the epithet 'studious' suggests that at St. Paul's then, as at Winchester till within almost living memory, during the hot days of summer, the boys deserted the close-packed school for the cool and spacious cloisters, to do, or at least prepare, their lessons.

While the *genius loci* of the old school thus bestowed on Milton the admiration for antiquity and august architecture which gave colour to his day-dreams and splendour to his poems, the *genius hominis* under which he fell gave a very different direction to his waking views of the world and his active life. The masters under whom Milton came were the high master, Alexander Gill, the sub or sur master William Sound, and the under-usher, first Oliver Smythe and then Alexander Gill the younger. Of William Sound, though Milton must have been under him at first, we hear no sound, nor of Oliver Smythe. But the two Gills were important elements in the formation of Milton the poet and publicist. Alexander Gill the elder was in the middle of his tenure of office when Milton went to school, having been appointed from Norwich Grammar School in 1608, and continuing in the mastership till his death in 1635. He had, while at Norwich, published a tract on the Trinity.

In 1619, while Milton was at St. Paul's, he published his *Logonomia Anglica*, which had the same object as the *Fonetik Nuz*, the reform of English spelling on phonetic lines. It was also an English grammar, which, though written in Latin, was illustrated with extracts from English poets, notably Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, 'our Lucan, Samuel Daniel', 'our Juvenal, George Withers'. Its literary history was not very sound when it charged Geoffrey Chaucer, 'of unlucky omen,' with having 'made his poetry famous by the use of French and Latin words', oblivious of the fact that French was the vernacular of the

English upper classes till the French wars of Edward III made it unpatriotic, and that even in schools Latin was translated not into English but into French till about 1380. However, as Professor Masson has remarked, 'If Gill was only half as interesting in his schoolroom as in his book, he must have been an effective and even delightful teacher.' Milton may well have owed to him his early appreciation of English poetry, which made him at the age of nineteen salute it in a college exercise:

> Hail native language that by sinews weak
> Didst move my first endeavouring tongue to speak.

It is remarkable that even in that early and sportive effort Milton declares his 'preference for themes sublime':

> Yet I had rather, if I were to choose,
> Thy service in some graver subject use,
> Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
> Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound:
> Such where the deep transported mind may soar,
> Above the wheeling poles, and at heaven's door
> Look in.

The versions in verse of Psalms cxiv and cxxxvi, 'done by the author at fifteen years old,' were probably for some school exercise. Prosaic as they are, they are studded with epithets of real poetic power far beyond those usually found in attempts at poetic versions of the Psalms, which generally make us agree with Browning's judgement on Clement Marot, that 'his faculties were in no small mist when he versified David the Psalmist'. These epithets have been traced to Spenser, Chaucer, Drummond, and so forth, and especially to Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas. But though not original, they show that Milton, while, as a scholar is brought up to do, picking up the crumbs from the feast of languages which he attended, was gifted with exceptional appreciation of what were the most toothsome crumbs.

Young Gill had a more certain and direct connexion with Milton. An old Pauline himself, under his father, he went with an exhibition to Trinity College, Oxford, and thence to be one of the first scholars of the newly-founded Wadham College. It is recorded in the margin of a scurrilous poem against him in his later years that when a scholar at Wadham, called on to begin the chant of a psalm, he 'flung out of the chapel, saying *Quicumque vult*, let him begin it'. A Latin threnody of his on the death of Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I, had perhaps attracted some attention at Oxford in his freshman's year, as it was subsequently (1632) included in a published volume of his Latin poems, entitled 'πάρεργα sive Poetici Conatus'.

The collection comprised a similar Greek poem on the death of Queen Anne in 1618. Gill took his M.A. degree in 1619, and two years after was appointed by his father under-usher at St. Paul's. In the interim perhaps he was a master at Farnaby's private school, the first perhaps of authorized private schools in London, and certainly the most famous. On New Year's Day, 1620–1, Gill sent him a poetical epistle in Latin with a skin of canary wine. When Gill junior came to St. Paul's, Milton must have been somewhere at the top of the school, and evidently struck up a great friendship with him For two of his letters to Gill from Cambridge have been preserved: one on May 20, 1628, thanking him in rather ecstatic terms for some Latin verses on a victory of Prince Henry of Nassau, Stadtholder of Holland. The other was on July 2, 1628, sending Gill some verses written by himself for the commencement at Cambridge, 'knowing you', he says, 'to be a very severe judge in poetical matters and a very candid judge of my productions'. In one letter, which shows close personal and literary intimacy, he says, 'as often as I recall your almost constant conversations with me (which even in this Athens I miss) I straightway think, and not without grief, of how much benefit my absence from you has deprived me, as I have never left your company without a clear increase and ἐπίδοσις of literary knowledge, just as if I had been to some emporium of learning'.

Now young Gill was a very strong Protestant and Puritan, and therefore strongly against the prevalent political system and politicians of the day, the Duke of Buckingham, and under him Laud. One of his Latin poems, written the year after Milton went up to Cambridge, was a poem of rejoicing, *In ruinam camerae papisticae Londini*, on the fall of a Popish chapel in Black Friars, which killed nearly 100 people, and as it happened, according to the Roman reckoning, new style, on November 5, was hailed as God's judgement for Gunpowder Plot. Though 'our benignant prince lets you meet for your idolatrous worship, God himself takes his cause in hand' is the effect of it. When Milton was writing his letters to Gill in 1628, in the first of which he hopes that 'our own affairs turning out more fortunate England itself will demand your congratulatory muses', Parliament was in the throes of its first great struggle with the king, which ended in the Petition of Right. On August 23, Buckingham was murdered by Felton. On Sept. 5 there must have been great excitement at St. Paul's School, when Gill was fetched out of it by two royal pursuivants and taken before Laud, questioned and committed prisoner to the Gate House, 'so close that neither father, mother, nor friend can speak to him.' All this, because on a visit to Oxford, Gill had, in

private talks in the buttery, and at beer-drinking in the cellar of Trinity College, made, as Laud expressed it, 'speeches so foul against religion, allegiance, your Majesty's person, and my dear lord by execrable hands laid in the dust' that he had examined him in private. Gill had been informed against by William Chillingworth, then a newly elected Fellow of Trinity, who shortly after became a Jesuit, but returned to be rewarded with a canonry. It is odd that Masson, who had gone to the State Papers himself, was in any doubt about Chillingworth's share in what the late Bishop of London called (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) a business as discreditable to Laud as to Chillingworth. He had, it is now clear from the State Papers, himself been an *agent provocateur*. Gill's first speech against Charles I had merely consisted of this: 'We have a fine wise king. He has wit enough to be a shopkeeper to ask "What do you lack?" and that is all.' The real offence was that being asked by Chillingworth what he thought of James I, he answered that 'the duke and he were together, and if there were a hell and a devil, surely the devil was there'. Then, as a witness said, 'in a madbrain railing humour' he began a health to Felton, which most of the company drank with him, as most sound Protestants in the country would have done. At Chillingworth's instigation the rooms of one of Gill's correspondents were searched for 'incriminating' documents. Papers two years old were found. But nothing worse appeared than the following doggerel, which reflected more credit on Gill's political than on his poetical views. The point of it is that the king had been deprived of the use of his senses by Buckingham, and may be called

A PRAYER FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE KING'S SENSES.

And now, just God, I humbly pray
That thou wilt take that slime away
That keeps my sovereign's *eyes* from viewing
The things that will be our undoing.
Then let him *hear*, good God, the sounds
As well of them as of his hounds.
Give him a *taste* and timely too
Of what his subjects undergo.
Give him a *feeling* of their woes,
And then no doubt his royal nose
Will quickly *smell* those rascals' savours
Whose blacky deeds eclipse his favours.
Though bound and scourged for their offences
Heaven bless my king and all his senses.

For this Gill was haled before the Star Chamber, ordered to be degraded from the ministry and from his degree (he was a B.D.), to be fined £2,000, and lose one ear at London and the other at Oxford.

Through the intercession of Gill the father, the loss of the ears, inflicted on Prynne and Burton for even less offences a few years later, with the fine, were remitted. But he was turned out of his mastership, and it is said degraded. If so, as he afterwards appears as D.D., he must afterwards have been restored. The loss of office was no great one to the family, as not Amurath an Amurath succeeded, but Harry Harry, George Gill, his brother, coming in his place as under-usher.

Noscitur a sociis. In correspondence on this incident, Diodati, Milton's school contemporary, also of Trinity College, who was, fortunately for himself, away at the time, guesses that Chillingworth was the informer, showing that he sympathized with Gill. We may therefore conclude that Milton had in his schooldays imbibed from Gill and shared with Diodati the political views, the expression of which brought him by turns fame and fortune and infamy and misfortune, but from which he never swerved. In this he was unlike Gill, who in 1632 included in his πάρεργα some abject Latin verses in honour of Laud. But Milton had independent means, and poor Gill was dependent on his profession for his livelihood, and Laud, as Ordinary of London, could have stopped him in its exercise. By an odd turn of Fortune's wheel, it became one of the articles in the impeachment of Laud that he had unconstitutionally interfered on behalf of Gill, who succeeded his father as high master of St. Paul's School, with the Mercers' Company, when they gave him notice to quit. Laud then laid down that, though the Company, as Governors, had been given absolute power of dismissal, they could only exercise it with the consent of the Ordinary. Sufficient evidence is not forthcoming as to the rights and wrongs of the dismissal. The cause ostensibly laid by the Mercers was excessive flogging, and some ribald poems on Gill's flogging were published during the Commonwealth. But Gill alleged that it was because he claimed from the Company, for the school, the augmented revenues of Colet's endowment, which the Company put into their own pockets. As the Mercers in 1640 agreed to pay Gill £50 down, and a pension of £25 a year for life, as we know that as late as 1720 they had only increased the salary to double that prescribed by Colet nearly 200 years before, and as late as 1866 claimed the school property as their own, there is some reason to think that the flogging was only an excuse for getting rid of a somewhat violent reformer, who had the audacity to apply his principles to the school and to the City Company, who were its trustees.

While we can hardly doubt that young Gill gave a bias to Milton's politics which they never lost, and in the expression of which in

his prose works he became the greatest English publicist of his day, it is perhaps rather to the books used at St. Paul's that we can trace the bent shown alike in his earliest and latest poetical works to scriptural subjects and the treatment of them. Colet, in setting down 'what shalbe taught of the maisters and lernyd of the scolers', began very wisely by saying 'it passyth my wit to devyse and determyn in particular'. 'In generall' he laid down that they were to be 'taught allway in good litterature both latyn and greke, and goode auctors such as have the veray Romayne eliquence joyned with wysdome,.. specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other in verse or prose'. Then he proceeded to specify first his own catechizon or catechism and Latin accidence in English, then two elementary Latin books of Erasmus.

And thenne other auctours Christian as Lactantius, Prudentius and Proba and Sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Mantuanus, and suche other as shalbe thoughte convenyent and moste to purpose unto the true laten speech, all barbary, all corrupcion, all laten adulterate which ignorant blind folks brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poysoned the old laten speech and the very Romayne tong which in the tyme of Tully and Sallust and Virgill and Terence were usid, whiche also Seint Jerome and Seint Ambrose and Seint Austen and many holy doctors lernyd in theyr tymes I say that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in, which more ratheyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature, I utterly abbanysh and exclude oute of this Scole, and charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is the best, and instruct the chyldren in greke and redyng laten, in redyng unto them suych auctours that hathe with wisdome joyned the pure chaste eloquence.

In fact Colet's reform took the shape now so much in vogue, which consists in going back on our fathers and grandfathers to our great-great and triple-great grandfathers. To the modern classical scholar it is a curious reflection on the critical standard of Colet's day that he should thus place the writers not of the silver, or even of the bronze age, but of the leaden age of Latin literature, on a par with those of the golden or Augustan age. It is an interesting question whether Colet knew that in prescribing such authors he was putting back the school curriculum of London in the sixteenth century to that of York in the eighth century, and replacing on the shelves of St. Paul's School library the books which Alcuin in a celebrated poem describes as the principal treasures of the York library in 780. Yet this is what, in the reaction against the sophistical, dialectical, hair-splitting treatises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he was doing. We need not discuss here whether Lilly's and Erasmus' grammar was an advance on previous grammars. It was fated in its turn to be spoken of with quite as much reprobation for its 'blottera-

ture' as its predecessors. Milton himself, as will be seen, who had clearly suffered under the tyranny of grammar as taught at St. Paul's, much as Colet had no doubt suffered under the tyranny of logic as taught where he was at school, whether St. Anthony's or St. Paul's itself, framed a new book in the vain attempt to supersede it. In the long run it may be questioned whether the reign of grammar is not a more hopeless and soul-slaying tyranny than that of dialectic. For the minutiae of verbal criticism in a dead language and the learning by heart of elaborate rules which are of absolutely no use except for the dead language itself, are even worse than the definitions for the sake of defining, and the rules of arguing for the sake of argument, which, over-elaborate as they were, were at least applicable to all forms of discussion on all subjects whatever.

But in education almost any change is for the good, as the one fatal thing is hide-bound uniformity and conformity. No doubt in Colet's day the resurrection of these early Christian authors was an improvement on the 'ineffable' and the 'irrefragable' and the other 'able' doctors of the schools. Moreover, these authors had been an immense advance on the pagan authors of their own day of slowly dying paganism, the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ, when Christianity was the one progressive force. Even the Sermon on the Mount in hexameters was at least a fresher element in literature than the stale old stories of Bacchus and Ariadne or the invocation of the muses. Which of the authors mentioned by Colet, or how much of them, were actually read in St. Paul's School we do not know. In default of any ransacking of the Mercers' records, nothing like a curriculum of St. Paul's is forthcoming before the eighteenth century. Professor Masson avoids the subject, laying down (*Life*, i. 65) positively, 'Instead of peddling over Sedulius and other such small practitioners of later or middle-aged Latinity, recommended as proper class-books by Colet, the scholars of St. Paul's as of other contemporary schools, were now led through very much the same list of Roman prose-writers and poets as are still honoured in our academies.' No authority is cited for this dictum. That the classical authors were studied and that Greek especially had made great strides in the schools since the days of Colet, or rather since the accession of Elizabeth, for there was little taught before that, cannot be disputed. But seeing the scrupulous and almost superstitious reverence paid to the foundation statutes of the schools by those who administered them, with a Court of Chancery and its 'Commissions of Charitable Uses' ever ready to see them enforced, it is highly improbable that the only specific injunctions of the founder

of the 'newe scole of Poules' should have been wholly disregarded and put aside within a century of their issue. In spite of Nowell's catechism, Colet's 'catechizon' was still used, the Roman parts only, such as that on the Seven Sacraments, being dropped. The Latin prayers, omitting those to the Virgin, but including one to the Boy Jesus, were still said even in Strype's time, who was at the school during the Commonwealth. It is, therefore, incredible that the prescribed authors should have been ignored in the days when Laud was living.

Instead of searching among Italian or Dutch authors, whom Milton may or may not have known, and who at all events came to him as moderns and inferiors, the inspiration which impelled him to the Hymns of the Nativity and the Passion while he was a boy, and to *Paradise Lost* alike in his youth, his manhood, and his old age, we can find it in those authors whom he studied in his most impressionable years, who came to him with all the halo of antiquity and the hallowed tradition of the 'pious founder' and the school. Let us take these authors in detail.

The first, Lactantius, is at first sight no food for babes. But seeing that boys were set to read Cicero *De Natura Deorum* at Winchester at the age of fifteen, in 1865, there seems no reason why, when boys had only recently ceased to be inducted into the mysteries of the predicaments and predicables at that age, they should not have read Lactantius' *Institutes* at St. Paul's in 1620. It is a most able work, full of close argument and cogent reasoning, and the way in which Cicero himself is dissected on the subject of the relation of God as creator to matter, would do credit to a Paley or a Huxley. In book ii, 'On the origin of sin', *De origine erroris*, Lactantius takes a view of the position of Christ as Son of God and his part in creation, which, it has been pointed out (*Dict. Christ. Biog.*), is not far short of Arian, and is precisely the view taken by Milton in *Paradise Lost*, book v. Milton was, as is known from a posthumous publication, an Arian, and he may have unconsciously imbibed this view from Lactantius himself, a result which perhaps Colet hardly contemplated. Matters of high theology, 'every slip in which entails Twenty-nine distinct damnations, one certain if another fails,' cannot be discussed here. But there is a singular resemblance between Lactantius' observations in the same book on the folly of seeking to know too much about how the creation was done, and a passage in Milton, which may be quoted in safety.[1]

[1] Lact. *Inst* II. 9 'Quomodo autem ille fecerit ne mente quidem videtur, quia, ut Hermes Trismegistus ait, "Sciat igitur quam inepte faciat qui res innarrabiles quaerit. Hoc est enim modum conditionis suae transgredi, quousque homini liceat accedere."'

Lactantius says, 'But how he did it cannot even be conceived, for, as Hermes Trismegistus says, "Let him who asks things beyond the power of narration know how foolishly he acts. For this is to pass the bounds of his nature and the limits which man can reach."' We may well ask whether it was not from Lactantius that Milton first heard of the 'thrice great Hermes' whom he wished to call up in *Il Penseroso*. Certainly Raphael's speech to Adam (*Par. Lost*, vii. 118) is indebted to Lactantius:

> Such commission from above
> I have receiv'd, to answer thy desire
> Of knowledge within bounds; beyond, abstain
> To ask; nor let thine own inventions hope
> Things not reveal'd, which th' invisible King,
> Only omniscient, hath suppress'd in night,
> To none communicable in earth or heaven.

As to Proba, this good lady, whose identity is somewhat shadowy, but is conjecturally Proba Valeria Fultonia, wife of Adulf, a proconsul at the end of the fourth century, was guilty of a work called *Centones Virgiliani*. One can but wonder alike at the good taste and good sense of Colet in recommending for his scholars a poem entirely composed of lines of Virgil wrested from their context and re-arranged as a patchwork Life of Christ. He perhaps thought that this curious *tour de force* gave profane Virgil, whom many wished to drive from the schools, a sacred form, and so preserved him. Milton seems to owe the exordium to *Paradise Lost* to the *Invocatio Dei* which begins this strange medley. If not, it is a singular coincidence that, while Proba quotes in her Invocation

> *Nec libet Aonio de vertice ducere Musas,*

Milton should in his Invocation speak of

> my adventurous song
> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above the Aonian mount.

Caelius Sedulius was a fifth-century schoolmaster of a rhetoric school, which, in Roman times, rather than the grammar school corresponded to the upper forms of our grammar schools. He may have specially commended himself to Colet by his description of Christ as the Boy Doctor among the doctors of the Temple; an incident commemorated by the statue of the Boy Jesus in the school, with above it, suggested by Erasmus, a picture of God the Father and the label 'Hear ye Him'. Sedulius' Easter Song (*Carmen Paschale*) begins with some fine lines in

assertion of the right of the Christian poet to sing the saving truths of Christ instead of the vicious fictions of the heathen.[1] Though the poem as a whole is not up to this sample, it was immensely popular. Sixteen MSS. ranging in date from the seventh to the sixteenth century are known, and forty editions in print. But it is doubtful how far Sedulius was read at St. Paul's, his Paschal feast savouring too much of the mass.

Juvencus, who is also said to have been a rhetoric schoolmaster, turned the Gospels into Virgilian hexameters in his *Historia Evangelica.* The proem to it, comparing Matthew to a law-giver, Mark to an eagle, Luke to a bull, and John to a lion, is primarily responsible for the representation of the Evangelists under those figures; though later authors and artists transmuted the emblems of Mark and John. But except for the exordium Juvencus' style is bad and bathos is not seldom reached. It may be doubted whether this book, if read at St. Paul's at all, contributed anything to Milton.

No such doubt can be felt of their contemporary, Marcus Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, the Christian Pindar, as he has been called, to whom Milton's debt is great and plain. A Roman rhetorician and lawyer, Prudentius' poems were published in 409. He is known to have been used as a school-book not only by Alcuin in the eighth but by Bruno in the tenth, and by Ludovicus Vives, the Spanish schoolmaster who became a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the fifteenth century.

There are at least two illustrated Anglo-Saxon editions of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, or 'Battle of the Soul between Vices and Virtues', extant, one at Cambridge and the other in the British Museum. This last was almost certainly used as a school-book as it is interlined in Anglo-Saxon. It ought to be reproduced in facsimile as a striking specimen of Anglo-Saxon art.

Parts of Prudentius' *Daily Hymns* (*Liber Cathemerinon*) appear in the Sarum Service books. Some of them have been translated into

[1] Cum sua gentiles studeant figmenta poetae
Grandisonis pompare modis tragicoque boatu,
Ridiculove Getae seu qualibet arte canendi,
Saeva nefandarum renovent contagia rerum
Et scelerum monumenta canant, rituque magistro
Plurima Niliacis tradent mendacia biblis,
Cur ego Davidicis assuetus cantibus odas

. . . .

Clara salutiferi taceam miracula Christi,
Cum possim manifesta loqui, Dominumque tonantem
Sensibus et toto delectet corde fateri?

English verse no longer ago than 1890. They are couched in various metres, sapphics, hendecasyllabics, asclepiads, and what not, but the most used is that which became the predominant metre of mediaeval hymns, the 'dimeter Iambic'. Now of the twelve Cathemerinon, the last two are on Christmas Day (*Hymnus Octavo Kalendas Ianuarias*), and on Twelfth Night (*Hymnus Epiphaniae*), and one of Milton's earliest efforts, in sacred poetry at least, is the hymn *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*. Speaking generally, we cannot but feel that Milton had read the one before he wrote the other. In particular, though Milton is to Prudentius as an organ to a harpsichord, yet it cannot be doubted that the splendid pathos of Milton's description of the desertion of the shrines of the heathen gods on the birth of Christ is directly inspired by Prudentius. 'Since God clothed himself with his mother's flesh,' says Prudentius, in Sir George Young's translation ;[1]—

> Silence prevails within the Delphian cave,
> The tripod gapes, the Sybils cease to rave;
> Her streams have vanished from Dodona's grot;
> Cumae is mute and Ammon answers not.
> . . . .
> I see the shades I summoned scour away,
> Lured by no savour backward to the day.
> Her torch extinguished and her scourge untied
> Persephone affrighted turns aside.
> No mystic spell, no magic charms avail
> . . . .
> The lauıel slips from off the Flamen's head.[2]

[1] *Translations from Prudentius*, p. 112, ed. by F. St. John Thackeray. Bell, 1890.

[2] Prud. *Apoth.* 435–44, 474–8:

> Ex quo mortalem praestrinxit spiritus alvum
> Spiritus ille Dei, Deus et se corpore matrıs
> Induit, atque hominem de virginitate creavit:
> Delphica dampnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra,
> Non tripodas cortina tegit, non spumat anhelus
> Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita librıs.
> Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores,
> Mortua iam mutae lugent oracula Cumae,
> Nec responsa refert Lıbycis in Syrtibus Ammon:
> . . . .
> Accitas video longe dispergier umbras.
> Territa Persephone vertıt vestigia retro
> Extinctis facibus, tracto fugitiva flagello.
> Nil agit arcanum murmur nil Thessala prosunt
> Carmina turbatis, revocat nulla hostia manes.
> . . . .
> Flamen et ipse tuas miratur vertice laurus
> Cedere.

These are stanzas nineteen and twenty-one of Milton's hymn:

> The oracles are dumb
> No voice or hideous hum
> Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving;
> Apollo from his shrine
> Can no more divine,
> With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving;
> No nightly trance or breathèd spell
> Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.
> . . . .
> In consecrated earth,
> And on the holy hearth,
> The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint;
> In urns and altars round,
> A drear and dying sound
> Affrights the flamens at their service quaint.

A curious feature of this passage is that, while undoubtedly inspired, as a whole, by Prudentius, many of its details are due to another of the 'Cristyn auctours' prescribed by Colet, for St. Paul's School, Baptista Mantuanus. He was rather an odd companion for Lactantius and Prudentius. For John the Baptist of Mantua, or, in his native tongue, Giovanni Spagnuoli, was a Carthusian monk, who lived ten centuries after Prudentius. He produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century Latin poetry of many kinds, held by his contemporaries to be of supreme quality. Colet's conjunction of him with the fifth-century writers is much as if a modern school scheme-master were to recommend in one breath, as models of English verse, Chaucer and Mr. George Meredith.

The most popular of the Mantuan's poems were his 'Bucolics', which were supposed to combine all the elegance of Virgil's 'Eclogues' without any of their grossness. Shakespeare makes Holofernes, the pedantic schoolmaster—most probably George Hunt, of Magdalen College, Oxford, Head Master of the Grammar School of Stratford-on-Avon—quote the first line 'Fauste, precor gelida'; a sufficient proof that it was a common Elizabethan school-book. The *Hymn of the Nativity* makes the inference irresistible that 'old Mantuan', as Holofernes calls him, continued to be read at St. Paul's in Jacobean days.

For in the stanzas just quoted, the Lemures clearly come from Mantuanus' lines,[1] 'The Lemures[2] driven from their shrines, through

[1] This and the other parallels cited are derived from a paper by Mr. Albert S. Cook in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* ii. Jan. 2, 1907, to which Professor Robertson drew my attention since this paper was read.

[2] Mantuan. ed. 1513, I. 236 *b*:

> Ex adytis pulsi lemures per inania terrae
> Spiramenta viam celeres iniere sub ima

the empty breathing holes of earth fled swiftly to lowest hell,' while Osiris and Anubis, who appear in stanzas 23 and 24, and 'the mooned Ashtaroth' and 'Thammuz mourned', in stanza 22, were derived from other parts of the same poem, the *Parthenice.* It is even more clear that the description of the 'universal peace through sea and land' which heralded the Nativity, 'the birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave', and 'the trumpet spake not to the armed throng' come from Mantuanus. 'There was peace; and safe repose had quelled the whole broad world; no trumpets, no arms sounded',[1] and 'the halcyon's offspring, new pledges of love, with flapping wings dared to rise and try their earliest flights.'[2] Even Mantuanus' rather untranslatable lines, 'There are who tell how the Dragon with burning brow dragged his tail dipped in Phlegethon (i. e. in flame), through the highest heaven' appear in the 'old dragon' who 'swinged the scaly horror of his folded tail.'[3] There can be no doubt of the indebtedness of Milton to these passages. Yet nothing more strikingly shows the manner in which Milton transfigured his borrowed materials and transmuted dross into gold, than the way in which these somewhat prosaic poets of his schooldays have been transfigured and transmuted in the *Hymn of the Nativity.*

So too Prudentius' *Hamartigenia* or 'Origin of Sin', and his *Psychomachia,* or 'War of the Virtues and Vices', the one with its elaborate arguments, that the devil, the author of evil, was not an independent potentate but a subordinate prince, who had fallen through envy, its description, said to be the first written, at least in poetry, of the Christian heaven and hell, and the other with its battles of helmed and shielded spirits, were probably the first suggestions to Milton of Satan, the hero of *Paradise Lost,* of the War in Heaven, and the theological discussions in it. Enough has been said to carry conviction to readers that the books prescribed by Colet in 1518 were still read

Tartara, secretisque diu latuere cavernis.

. . . .

I 79 *a.* Parthenices primo ingressi simulacra per omnem
Legimus Aegyptum subita cecidisse ruina
Et collisa solo. Iacuit resupinus Anubis,
Cornibus auratis solio ruit Isis ab alto,
Occidit extemplo luctu quaesitus Osiris.

[1] Mant. I. 67 *b.* Pax erat et domitum late placaverat orbem
Tuta quies; nusquam litui, non arma sonabant.

[2] Ibid. 70 *b.* Halcyonis foetae variis nova pignora pennis
Iam tolli audebant, primosque efferre volatus.

[3] Ibid. 72 *a.* Sunt quoque qui summum traxisse per aethera caudam
Fronte sub ardenti mersa[m] Phlegethonte Draconem
Commemorent.

at St. Paul's in 1618, and gave the mind of Milton its bent towards the subjects of which they treated, and many hints in their treatment. St. Paul's School, therefore, may claim a more direct share in the splendid achievements of its greatest scholar than can be claimed by any other school in the works of its great alumni.

II. Milton as Schoolmaster.

One ought perhaps to apologize to Milton for venturing to dub him schoolmaster. It was a title which he vehemently repudiated himself, and which his favourite pupil, Edward Phillips, vehemently repudiated for him:

> Possibly his proceeding thus far in the education of youth may have been the occasion of some of his adversaries calling him pedagogue and schoolmaster. Whereas it is well known he never set up for a public school to teach all the young fry of a parish, but only was willing to impart his learning and knowledge to relations, and the sons of some gentlemen that were his intimate friends; besides that, neither his converse, nor his writings, nor his manner of teaching. ever savoured in the least anything of pedantry; and probably he might have some prospect of putting in practice his academical institution, according to the model laid down in his sheet of education.

It seems probable that it was partly to the younger Gill's influence that Milton's becoming a schoolmaster may be attributed. At all events, when Milton, after his return from Italy in 1640, settled in London, leaving his father in the country with his royalist second son, Christopher, it was to a house in Aldersgate, a few doors from Gill, who had set up a private academy there, that he repaired. Milton's life as a schoolmaster is as barren of facts as his life as a schoolboy. It lasted only about seven years. It was carried on first in the house in Aldersgate Street, then a suburb, the houses having gardens, while the end of the street bordered on the open country. Later, in 1645, as there was a prospect of more pupils, Milton removed to a larger house in the Barbican. But after his father's death in 1647, and consequent accession of income, accompanied by increasing interest in the political struggle, Milton abandoned schoolmastering for political pamphleteering. Professor Masson has drawn up a list of ascertained pupils, who with barely an exception are of an aristocratic kind, sons of people with handles to their names, when a handle was by no means so common as now.

Though to Milton school was but an interlude, it was one into which he entered with his accustomed thoroughness, and with his usual disregard of conventional doctrines. As everything that John Milton did or thought was not only of supreme importance to himself, but to the world at large, Milton, as schoolmaster, was bound sooner or later to

leave his mark in literature. There are two literary productions of his on the subject. The *Accedence commenced Grammar*, not published till 1669, when everything the author of *Paradise Lost* had written became of value, was no doubt a product of this period, fished out for the printer over twenty years later. The *Tractate on Education*, written, at the invitation of Samuel Hartlib, a Dutchman and educational reformer, resident in England, was published in 1644. They both begin with the same complaint, which is still vexing the soul of the educational reformer two and a half centuries later. 'We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek;' says, after compliments, the *Tractate on Education*. The *Accedence* begins: 'It hath been long a general complaint, not without cause, in the bringing up of youth, and still is, that the tenth part of man's life ordinarily extended is taken up in learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin Tongue,' 'which tardy proficience' Milton attributed to 'making two labours of one by learning first the accedence, then the grammar, in Latin, ere the language of those rules be understood'. 'The only remedy was to join both books in one, and in the English tongue.' The *Accedence* is accordingly a Latin grammar written in English, and with much simplified rules, most exceptions being omitted and relegated 'to a good dictionary', which also this indefatigable worker had on hand, 'stored with good authorities'. The odd title seems to mean a grammar commenced with the accidence instead of the learning 'touching letters and syllables which is omitted as little different from an English spelling book'. It was perhaps the first complete Latin grammar in English, though Holt's *Lac Puerorum* in the beginning of the sixteenth century had allowed the babes to lap their Latin in that tongue, and Milton's contemporary, Hoole, had published a translated Lilly. It has not been the last. But the youth of the upper classes in England still take a tenth or more of their lives to learn little Latin and less Greek, and it may be questioned whether at the end most of them can read a Latin book or write a Latin exercise so well as those bred up on the unmitigated Lilly.

The *Tractate on Education* sought to supply a larger remedy for this waste of time by 'a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private, of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve and twenty-one, less time than is now bestowed in pure trifling at grammar and sophistry, is thus ordered.'

He then proceeds to set out his plan for an Academy, at once school and university, in a spacious house and grounds, such as then

occupied by John Milton, Esquire, of the Barbican. But whereas he had only at the outside some 30 pupils, this was to be for 150, including 20 servants. Here he was in advance of his age. Except Eton, and to a lesser extent Winchester, there was no school in England which enjoyed good recreation grounds. 'For their studies', to begin with, we are brought up short with the inevitable Latin grammar. Though Hartlib, under the influence of the Czech-German Comenius, was advocating a 'Reformed School' which began with English, Milton will have none of the modern '*Januas* and *Didactics*,' as Comenius' books were called, which he had not read and did not intend to read—' more than ever I shall read'. Latin is without question assumed as the only and necessary medium of education. Nor, in an age when not only all scientific works were in Latin, but even Milton himself, when he wished to attack a theological opponent or defend the execution of Charles I, had to write in Latin, was this assumption unreasonable. His authority is no authority on this for present times. Having to use Latin, Milton insists that Latin shall be pronounced in the modern method 'as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels'.

The main thesis of the *Tractate* is that things should be learnt, not words.

> Language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them, as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only.

With this end grammar was to be learnt out of 'some easy and delightful book of education' as Cebes, Plutarch, Quintilian, with 'lectures and explanations', and the Milton touch is applied 'that they may be inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue; stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages'. After grammar, mathematics. But the mathematicians will hardly approve of the space given to them. Arithmetic was to be taught 'at some other hour of the day, and soon after the elements of geometry, even playing, as the old manner was'.

Then we come to things. First, agriculture was to be learnt from Cato, Varro, and Columella. Next geography and the use of the globes, 'in any modern author'. In Greek, 'the difficulties of grammar being soon overcome,'

> all the historical physiology of Aristotle and Theophrastus are open before them; with Vitruvius and Seneca's *Natural Questions*; then they descend to trigonometry, fortification, architecture, enginery, or navigation; and in natural

philosophy leisurely from the history of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures as far as anatomy. Then out of some not tedious writer the institution of physic that they may know how to manage a crudity [i. e. indigestion].

Apparently all boys were to learn all things. The objection which would at once arise from the modern advocate of learning things to the bookish nature of all this learning is met by the remark, 'To set forward all those proceeding in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure . . the helpful experience of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in the other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists.'

But this is not all. The boys will now have acquired 'the art of reason called Proairesis' or the choice of good and evil. So enter Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, kept in order by David and Solomon and the Evangelists. Then the pupils proceed to economics, 'and now as before they may have learned at any odd hour the Italian tongue'. Soon after they go on to Greek, Latin, or Italian comedies and tragedies 'which treat of household matters.' Then come politics, next law, from Moses and Lycurgus to Justinian and the common and statute law of England. Sunday is devoted to theology, and 'the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gained, . . whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect.' Next come histories, epics, and tragedies 'of stateliest and most regal argument', many to be learnt by heart and declaimed. 'Lastly' will be time for the 'organic arts,' logic, rhetoric, the laws of poetry, the practice of composition in writing and speaking. 'Whether they be to speak in Parliament or council, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in pulpits other visage, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought, than what we now sit under.'

Exercise was not to be neglected. Fencing, wrestling, music, especially 'after meat to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction', military manœuvres, excursions on horseback, sailing. We shall not then 'need the monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kickshaws.'

The programme is so vast with its mathematics, Italian, Hebrew, Chaldee learnt in odd hours, its dismissal of the difficulties of Latin prose with the casual assumption 'ere half these authors be read they cannot but be masters of any ordinary prose' and of Greek with the aside 'the difficulties of grammar being soon overcome', that if the writer were any one but Milton we should suppose that the *Tractate on Education* was an elaborate skit on the expert in education, 'the educationist'—horrid word and still more horrid thing—of that day.

But we are precluded from maintaining this view by three considerations. First, the solemn conclusion which Milton addresses to Master Hartlib. He admits

This is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses ; yet I am withal persuaded that it may prove much more illustrious, howbeit, not more difficult, than I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes, if God have so decreed and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

The second consideration is that, as Milton points out, 'the course of study hitherto described is what I can guess by reading likest to those ancient and famous schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, and such others.' These, of course, were not schools at all in our sense of the word. But the encyclopaedia of universal knowledge which Milton's academy was to bestow is not a whit more all-embracing than the ideal education of the perfect orator as set forth by Cicero, *De Oratore*, and in Quintilian's *Institutes*. But the third, and the chief and most convincing consideration, is that Milton's theory of education was but slightly idealized from Milton's practice in educating. This amazing programme was, according to Edward Phillips, Milton's earliest and most constant pupil, whom he taught from the age of ten to the age of seventeen, in large part actually carried out. In his *Life of Milton* Phillips mentions the

many authors which through his excellent judgment and way of teaching, far above the pedantry of common public schools (where such authors are scarce ever heard of), were run over.

The list comprises, on agriculture, Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius; Celsus, a physician; Pliny's Natural History, Vitruvius' Architecture, Frontinus' Stratagems, Aratus' Phenomena, Dionysius Afer de situ orbis, Oppian's Cyngeticks, and Halieuticks (i. e. on dogs and fishing), Geminus' Astronomy, Polyaenus' Warlike Stratagems, besides the ordinary classics. The Pentateuch in Hebrew 'a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee Paraphrase', several chapters of St. Matthew in Syriac; besides Urstitius' Arithmetic, Riff's Geometry, Petiscus' Trigonometry, Johannes de sacro Bosco De Sphaera; in Italian, Villani's History; and in French, Davity, 'the famous geographer of France'. On Sundays Greek Testament and a Perfect System of Divinity were read, collected by himself from the ablest of divines, 'Amesius, Wellebius, &c.' After all, this is not more amazing to modern notions than the tremendous list of books and subjects which Charles Hoole recommends for 'the common public school' in his *Discovery*, only

that the latter is mostly linguistic and grammatical. Nor was the programme so impossible when the school hours were from 7 to 11 a.m. and 1 to 5 p.m., with only one half-holiday a week, and home-work till midnight, as Milton himself did, to finish his prose and verse tasks, thus ensuring a twelve hours' working day, as it seems to our degenerate seven or eight hours' day. But when one remembers the horror that Virgil's *Georgics* inspired in the endeavour to remember the name of some unknown plant in Latin which was still more unknown in English and in fact, one cannot think that Frontinus or Vitruvius, Polyaenus or Oppian are fit food for schoolboys, whatever hands may minister it. After all, *Non omnia possumus omnes.* Milton's *Tractate* suffers under the same disadvantage as Elliot's *De regimine Principum*, Ascham's *Scholemaster*, Locke's *Theory* and most treatises on education. It proceeded not from experience of a public school, but from that of a private tutor. Theories of education which may be all very well when applied by a single master of exceptional ability and enthusiasm to one or two pupils, to whom individual and exclusive attention is given, are incapable of application to the common crowd in a common school by a common man.

Still, Milton the Schoolmaster anticipated in theory what has since been partly realized in practice, the danger of exclusive bookishness, and the necessity of combining practical work with theoretical instruction. As a schoolmaster, as in everything else, he was miraculous in industry, magnificent in ideas, and splendid in style. In a word, he was Miltonic.

MILTON'S FAME ON THE CONTINENT

By J. G. ROBERTSON

Read December 10, 1908

MILTON was the first English poet to inspire respect and win fame for our literature on the Continent of Europe, the first poet to be known and to be adjudged worthy of knowing by continental critics: and he was the only English writer whom the biographical lexicons of the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century considered it necessary to discuss at length. To *Paradise Lost* was due, to an extent that has not yet been fully realized, the change which came over European ideas in the eighteenth century with regard to the nature and scope of epic poetry; that work was the mainstay of those adventurous critics who dared to vindicate in the face of French classicism the rights of the imagination over the reason as the creative and motive force in poetry. Milton's influence on the German literature of the eighteenth century was hardly inferior to Shakespeare's, and he cast an equally strong spell over the minds of the pioneers of French Romanticism at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These facts, if nothing else, are reason enough for considering, on the present occasion of the Tercentenary of the poet's birth, the part he has played in moulding the thought and imagination of the peoples of the Continent.

Just as Shakespeare found his way to the Continent through the medium of strolling players who performed garbled versions of his plays in the chief towns of northern Europe, so the knowledge of Milton was spread abroad by means that had even less connexion with literature. It was not as a poet at all that he first became known, but as the Secretary of the Commonwealth and the notorious defender of regicides. In 1652, John Dury published, by order of the English government, a translation of the Εἰκονοκλάστης into French,[1] which materially helped to spread Milton's fame, or rather

[1] Εἰκονοκλάστης, *ou Réponse au Livre intitulé* Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, *traduite de l'Anglois.* Londres, 1652. See D. Masson, *Life of Milton*, iv (1877), p. 448. In October, 1654, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and sister of Charles I, wrote from the Hague to her son, the Elector Karl Ludwig of the Palatinate, recommending him

notoriety, abroad. Milton was mentioned, but not as a poet, by P. Costar in his *Mémoire des gens de lettres célèbres des pays étrangers*,[1] and the Comte de Comminges, Louis XIV's ambassador at the court of Charles II, made, in 1663, his famous report to his royal master to the effect that the arts and sciences had passed to France, and that, if there were any vestiges left in England, 'ce n'est que dans la mémoire de Bacon, de Morus, de Bucanan et, dans les derniers siècles, d'un nommé Miltonius qui s'est rendu plus infâme par ses dangereux écrits que les bourreaux et les assassins de leur roi'.[2] The lexicographers, C. Funccius, G. M. König, C. Gryphius, and V. Paravicini, give Milton brief notices in their biographical works,[3] but they know him only as a political agitator, and especially as the author of *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, a book to which universal attention had been drawn on the Continent by the fact of its having been publicly burned at Paris and Toulouse. In 1697, Bayle honoured Milton by devoting to him three pages of his *Dictionary*, this being the only English poet mentioned in the work.[4] Still, it is obvious that it was not Milton the poet, but Milton the political writer, in whom Bayle was interested, and he was content to repeat at second hand that *Paradise Lost* 'passe pour l'un des plus beaux ouvrages de poésie que l'on ait vu en anglais', *Paradise Regained* being 'not nearly so good'. In 1704, when the German scholar J. F. Buddaeus came to compile his *Allgemeines historisches Lexicon*, the first German encyclopaedia

to have nothing to do with Dury, who was to pass through Heidelberg, because 'he uritt and printed a booke, where he aproues the king my dear Brothers murther, which I haue read, and he has translated into french Milletons booke against the Kings booke, so as I intreat you, not to see that rascall . . .' (*Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart, Königin von Böhmen, an ihren Sohn den Kurfürsten Carl Ludwig von der Pfalz*. Herausgegeben von A. Wendland, Stuttgarter Lit. Verein, vol. ccxxviii, 1902, p 51). Daniel Heinsius mentioned, in 1651, a translation of the *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, but this does not appear to have been published. Chapelain discusses Milton in his correspondence (*Lettres*, Paris, 1880–3, ii, pp. 103, 110), and also Guy Patin. See J. M. Telleen, *Milton dans la littérature française*, Paris, 1904, pp. 2 ff., a study to which I must here express my indebtedness.

[1] See P. N. Desmolets, *Mémoires de littérature et d'histoire*, Paris, 1726, ii, p. 355 (quoted by J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare en France*, Paris, 1898, p. 107). Costar died in 1660.

[2] See J. J. Jusserand, *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II*, London, 1892, pp 58, 205.

[3] G. M. König, *Bibliotheca vetus et nova*, Altdorf, 1678, p. 541; C. Gryphius, *Apparatus sive dissertatio isagogica de scriptoribus historiam seculi XVII illustrantibus*, Leipzig, 1710, pp. 320, 333 ff.; V. Paravicini, *Singularia de viris eruditione claris*, Basel, 1713, p. 207.

[4] *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Rotterdam, 1697, vol. ii, p. 590.

on a large scale, he devoted a comparatively long article to Milton,[1] but had not much more to say about Milton's poetry than what he found in Bayle. Still later, J. B. Mencke, who made extensive use of his predecessor's work, had, in his *Compendiöses Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1713), nothing to say of Milton as a poet at all, although he appears to have himself possessed a copy of the edition of *Paradise Lost* of 1704;[2] that is to say, the most generally used German biographical dictionary in the second decade of the eighteenth century did not consider it worth while even to mention Milton's poetry!

As a matter of fact, however, the ignorance of Milton's poetry at the end of the seventeenth century was by no means as great as this would imply, even in Germany. For as early as 1682—more than forty years before an attempt was made to translate Milton into any other modern European tongue—there appeared at Zerbst a translation of *Paradise Lost* into German: *Das verlustigte Paradeis, auss Johann Miltons zeit seiner Blindheit in Englischer Sprache abgefassten unvergleichlichen Gedicht*,[3] by Ernst Gottlieb von Berge, privy secretary and interpreter to the Great Elector. And even this was not the first translation of the epic, one having been begun still earlier by a German in England, Theodor Haake, a writer who forms an interesting link between Germany and England in the seventeenth century. Haake was a Rhinelander by birth, and in 1625, at the age of twenty, came over to study at Oxford and Cambridge. He virtually spent the rest of his life in England, where under the Protectorate he played an important political rôle as mediator between Cromwell and the Continent. He was also one of the first founders of the Royal Society. Haake stood on friendly terms with Milton, ahd his translation of *Paradise Lost*—it does not go beyond the beginning of the fourth canto—was made about the end of the seventies. It is much superior to Berge's version, which it seems to have inspired, Haake having circulated his manuscript among his continental friends. His translation, however, was neither finished

[1] *Allgemeines historisches Lexicon*, iii (I quote from the edition of 1730), p. 569 (2½ columns). J. Klefeker devoted no less than eleven pages of his *Bibliotheca eruditorum praecocium*, Hamburg, 1717 (pp. 233 ff.), to Milton.

[2] See *Bibliotheca Menckeniana*, Leipzig, 1723, p. 561.

[3] There is a copy in the British Museum. See G. Jenny, *Miltons Verlornes Paradies in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, St. Gallen, 1890, pp. 5 ff. A reprint of Berge's translation, together with Haake's MS., was promised years ago by Professor A. Sauer in his series, *Bibliothek älterer deutscher Übersetzungen*, but the series seems to have been discontinued. On Berge, cp. J. Bolte, *Die beiden altesten Verdeutschungen von Miltons Verlorenem Paradies*, in the *Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, i (1888), pp. 426 ff.

nor published, and a manuscript of it is preserved in the Landesbibliothek at Cassel.[1] Berge's work, it need only be added, is clumsy and uninspired, and attracted little or no attention at the time of its publication, although the reason is perhaps to be sought not so much in its mediocre quality as in the fact that Berge, following his friend's example, made the bold attempt to translate Milton in the rimeless metre of the original. When, many years later, Gottsched and Bodmer unearthed this first German *Paradise Lost*, they had little that was favourable to say about it.[2] In the same year in which it appeared, Daniel Morhof, the first continental writer to mention Shakespeare's name, discussed Milton's rimeless verse in his *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poesie*.[3]

But in spite of this promising beginning, there was no permanency in Germany's interest in Milton; Berge's translation was soon com-

[1] 'Das Verlustigte Paradeiss auss und nach dem Englischen I. M. durch F.H. zu übersetzen angefangen—voluisse sat.' On Haake, see H. L. Benthem, *Engelländischer Kirch- und Schulenstaat*, Lüneburg, 1694, pp. 57 ff.; also A. Stern, *Milton und seine Zeit*, iii, Leipzig, 1879, p. 26. In estimating the value of translations in spreading a knowledge of Milton, it must not be forgotten that *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* were translated into Latin in 1690 by a Scotchman, William Hog (*Paraphrasis poetica in tria Johannis Miltoni poemata*, London, 1690). This work seems to have been pretty generally known on the Continent, and it is quoted by Bayle.

[2] See Jenny, *l.c.*, pp. 6 ff., where quotations are given from Bodmer's correspondence with J. U. von Konig (*Literarische Pamphlete aus der Schweiz, nebst Briefen an Bodmer*, Zurich, 1781, p 40, and A. Brandl, *Zur ersten Verdeutschung von Miltons Verlorenem Paradies*, in *Anglia*, i 1878, pp. 460 ff). See also Hans Bodmer, *Die Anfänge des zürcherischen Milton*, in *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte M. Bernays gewidmet*, Hamburg, 1893, pp. 177 ff. 'Diese Übersetzung,' said Bodmer in the preface to the first edition of his translation of *Paradise Lost*, 'ist in keinen Ruf kommen. Wahr ist, dass Milton sehr verfinstert darinne aussiehet; doch behalt auch der gefallene Poet so viel von seinem angebohrnen Glantze, dass er bey nachsinnenden Lesern ein Aufsehen machen, und zum wenigsten eine Begierde nach dem Original hat erwecken sollen' (p. 9). Cf. J. U. von König's opinion in a letter to Bodmer of May 15, 1725 (A. Brandl, *B. H. Brockes*, Innsbruck, 1878, p. 142). Gottsched's criticism is to be found in his *Beiträge zur critischen Historie der deutschen Sprache, Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, i (1732), pp. 85 ff.

[3] 'Der bekante Johannes Milton hat ein vollständig Poema: genannt *The Paradis lost*, ohne Reimen geschrieben, woselbst er in der Vorrede dieser Schreibart das Wort redet.... In Teutscher Sprach hat noch niemand es [i. e., to write blank verse] zu versuchen begehret, ist auch eine unnotige Arbeit. Meines erachtens, wann einer die ungereimten Verse höher als die andern halten wolte, were es eben, als wann einer einer Strohfidel vor einer wollgestimten Geige den Vorzug gebe.' (*Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poesie*, Kiel, 1682, pp. 568 f.) Morhof also mentions Milton in his *Polyhistor*, Lubeck, 1688, pp. 304 f. Cp. Jenny, *l.c.* pp. 8 ff.

pletely forgotten, if, indeed, it had ever begun to be known. H. L. Benthem, in his *Engelländischer Kirch- und Schulenstaat* (1694), a kind of guide-book to England intended especially for theologians, has something to say of Milton;[1] but otherwise I have been able to trace no German mention of Milton—with the exception of a review in the Leipzig *Acta Eruditorum* of 1696—before 1700, when the same periodical drew general attention to him by a detailed account of Toland's *Life of Milton.*[2] Hamburg was one of the principal channels through which English literature found its way to Germany, and in the early years of the eighteenth century the Hamburg poets, Wernigke, Triller, Brockes (who translated parts of *Paradise Lost*), and Hagedorn, all took a warm interest in Milton.[3]

Meanwhile, France, although no attempt had yet been made there to translate Milton, was growing increasingly curious about him.[4] A brief mention of his name in the *Journal des Savans* in 1708 was followed, two years later, by a distorted account, written in a spirit of religious intolerance, in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*; the 'impiety' and 'perfidy' of Milton's writings are condemned in no measured terms; *Paradise Lost* is disposed of as 'très séditieux', though much applauded in England, and his works in general are described as 'plutôt l'effet d'une imagination déréglée, que d'un jugement solide.'[5]

Thus it is not perhaps surprising that when the first translator of *The Spectator* into French arrived in his third volume (1718) at what he called Addison's 'critique fine et judicieuse du célèbre poëme de Milton intitulé *Le Paradis perdu*' he excused himself from translating the papers in question on the ground that the poem 'n'a pas été et qu'il ne sera sans doute jamais traduit en notre langue'.[6] A year

[1] There were two editions of this work, 1694 and 1732. For Milton, see pp. 57 ff. of the first edition, and pp. 115 ff. and 1121 ff. of the second. His poetic work receives, however, only a bare mention.

[2] *Acta Eruditorum*, 1696, pp. 226 f., 1700, pp. 371 ff. There are also frequent passing references to Milton in subsequent volumes. Toland's book was reviewed in H. Basnage de Beauval's *Histoire des ouvrages des savans*, February, 1699 (p. 87). Cp. Telleen, *l c.*, p. 13

[3] See Brandl, *l.c.*, pp. 35, 100 ff.

[4] Professor Spingarn has recently drawn attention to a passage in a letter from Vincent Minutoli to Bayle, of December 15, 1690, in which he refers to the high opinion the English had of Milton: 'Ils m'en ont parlé comme du *non plus ultra* de l'esprit humain' (*Modern Language Notes*, xxii (1907), p. 232). The citation is from E. Gigas, *Choix de la correspondance inédite de P. Bayle*, Copenhagen, 1890, p. 579.

[5] *Journal des Savans*, 1708, pp. 331 ff: *Mémoires de Trévoux*, 1710, pp. 2123 ff. Milton's name was put on the *Index librorum prohibitorum* in 1700, the Italian translation of *Paradise Lost* in 1732. (Telleen, *l.c.*, p. 7.)

[6] *Le Spectateur, ou le Socrate moderne*, Amsterdam, 1714 ff., iii, preface. It is

earlier, however, Milton and his verse had been treated at considerable length, and with due seriousness, in the famous *Dissertation sur la poésie anglaise* in the *Journal littéraire*,[1] an article which, although not showing much originality, was a landmark of importance in the diffusion of English literature abroad. It contained the most enlightening and suggestive criticism of both Shakespeare and Milton that had up to that date appeared in French. The next ten years seem to have marked but little advance in Milton's progress in France; a few passing references to him in periodical publications exhausts it.[2] The years 1727-8 marked, however, the turning-point of Milton's fame on the Continent; for in 1727 appeared, first in English, and some months later in a French translation by the Abbé Desfontaines, Voltaire's *Essay upon Epick Poetry*. Even in his earliest years Voltaire had the art of commanding attention when he spoke; and this essay set all Europe thinking and talking about Milton, just as the *Lettres anglaises*, a few years later, laid the foundation of Shakespeare's fame on the Continent.

The *Essay upon Epick Poetry* was a much bolder and more effective plea for Milton's poetic greatness than anything Voltaire ever wrote about Shakespeare. Indeed, it may be said that nothing had yet been written—and nothing was to be written for many years to come—by a foreigner, which was so likely to awaken admiration for Milton as the final chapter of Voltaire's English essay. Unfortunately, however, when Voltaire published his own French version of the *Essay* in 1732, as a pendant to the *Henriade*, his attitude to Milton had undergone a change, and he either suppressed altogether the laudatory things he had said in English, or at least toned them down. He

of importance to note that the early editions of *The Spectator* in French—which were so widely read all over the Continent—omitted the papers on Milton; these, however, were soon translated and published, separately, or together with the early French translations of *Paradise Lost*. (See below, pp. 326 f.)

[1] *Journal littéraire*, ix (1717), pp. 178 ff. There is also a mention of Milton in the volume for 1716. It is perhaps worth recording that Rapin, in his review of epic poetry (*Réflexions sur la Poétique*, 1709), ignores Milton completely; on the other hand, the Chevalier A. M. Ramsay does refer to him, without mentioning his name, in his *Discours sur la poésie épique et de l'excellence du Poeme de Télémaque*, Paris, 1717, p. xxviii. (Telleen, *l.c.*, p. 8.)

[2] For instance, in the *Bibliothèque anglaise*, vol. i (1717), pp. 43, 377; vol. iv (1718), pp. 539 ff. (Review of Milton's tract *Of Education*). In Armand de la Chapelle's translation of *The Tatler* (*Le Babillard*, Amsterdam, 1724) occurs the earliest French translation of lines from *Paradise Lost*, namely viii, 268–91. It is quoted in full by Telleen, pp. 13 f. In a note to vol. i, p. 427, the translator of *The Tatler* complains that Milton has filled his poem with 'tant de Métaphysique, de Spiritualités, de Combats d'Intelligences etc. qu'à mon avis quelquefois il en est inintelligible.'

did not, in the original *Essay*, conceal the fact that much in Milton's epic was at variance with the sweetness and reason of the French classic canon, and he pointed out Milton's lapses from good taste, but the tone of his criticism of *Paradise Lost*, 'the noblest Work which human Imagination hath ever attempted,' was dignified, and he regarded the poet with an admiration which could not have been assumed merely to flatter his English readers.[1]

What *Milton* [he said] so boldly undertook, he perform'd with a superior Strength of Judgment, and with an Imagination productive of Beauties not dream'd of before him. The Meanness (if there is any) of some Parts of the Subject is lost in the Immensity of the Poetical Invention. There is something above the reach of human Forces to have attempted the Creation without Bombast, to have describ'd the Gluttony and Curiosity of a Woman without Flatness, to have brought Probability and Reason amidst the Hurry of imaginary Things belonging to another World, and as far remote from the Limits of our Notions as they are from our Earth; in short to force the Reader to say, 'If God, if the Angels, if Satan would speak, I believe they would speak as they do in *Milton*.'

I have often admir'd how barren the Subject appears, and how fruitful it grows under his Hands.

The *Paradise Lost* is the only Poem wherein are to be found in a perfect Degree that Uniformity which satisfies the Mind, and that Variety which pleases the Imagination. All its Episodes being necessary Lines which aim at the Centre of a perfect Circle. Where is the Nation who would not be pleas'd with the Interview of *Adam* and the *Angel*? With the Mountain of Vision, with the bold Strokes which make up the Relentless, undaunted and sly Character of Satan? But above all with that sublime Wisdom which *Milton* exerts, whenever he dares to describe God, and to make him speak? He seems indeed to draw the Picture of the Almighty, as like as human Nature can reach to, through the mortal Dust in which we are clouded.

The *Heathens* always, the *Jews* often, and our Christian Priests sometimes, represent God as a Tyrant infinitely powerful. But the God of *Milton* is always a Creator, a Father, and a Judge, nor is his Vengeance jarring with his Mercy, nor his Predeterminations repugnant to the Liberty of Man. These are the Pictures which lift up indeed the Soul of the Reader. *Milton* in that Point as well as in many others is as far above the ancient Poets as the Christian Religion is above the *Heathen* Fables.

But he hath especially an undisputable Claim to the unanimous Admiration of Mankind, when he descends from those high Flights to the natural Description of human Things. It is observable that in all other Poems Love is represented as a Vice, in *Milton* only 'tis a Virtue. The Pictures he draws of it, are naked as the Persons he speaks of, and as venerable. He removes with a chaste Hand the Veil which covers every where else the enjoyments of that Passion. There is Softness, Tenderness and Warmth without Lasciviousness; the Poet transports himself and

[1] A copy of the English original is in the British Museum: *An Essay upon the Civil Wars of France, Extracted from curious Manuscripts, and also upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations from Homer down to Milton.* By Mr. de Voltaire. London, 1727. My quotations are from this copy, pp. 105 ff. The French translation of 1728 I have not seen, but to judge from the specimens in the review in the *Journal des Savans*, 1728, pp. 517 ff., it was quite literal.

us into that State of innocent Happiness in which *Adam* and *Eve* continued for a short Time: He soars not above human, but above corrupt Nature, and as there is no Instance of such Love, there is none of such Poetry.[1]

As was the case with Shakespeare, however, Voltaire had no sooner awakened an interest in Milton, than he arrived at the conclusion that an excess of admiration for this foreign poet might endanger the good taste of Europe; the piquancy of having discovered Milton gave place—as soon as others began to occupy themselves with his poetry—to repentance for the momentary back-sliding which had led him to forget his responsibilities as the guardian of literary taste and propriety. Moreover, nemesis seemed to follow his praise of Milton with sinister rapidity: only a few months after his *Essay*, there was published the first translation of *Paradise Lost* into French, that, namely, of N. F. Dupré de Saint-Maur.[2] Voltaire veered round at once; he expunged, as we have seen, as much of the praise as he reasonably could from his *Essay on Epic Poetry* before publishing it in French, and, from now on, his attacks on Milton were even more unscrupulous than his antagonism in later life to Shakespeare. He ridiculed the English poet in his *Candide*, and even parodied him in his *Pucelle*.[3]

Dupré de Saint-Maur had prefaced his version of *Paradise Lost*—it is in prose—by a translation of Elijah Fenton's *Life of Milton*, and, in collaboration with a certain Barret, he translated those papers on Milton from *The Spectator* which the first translator of that journal had not considered it worth while to present to French readers.

[1] The French text is only a weak echo of the last paragraphs: 'On fut étonné de trouver, dans un sujet qui paraît si stérile, une si grande fertilité d'imagination, on admira les traits majestueux avec lesquels il ose peindre Dieu, et le caractère encore plus brillant qu'il donne au diable; on lut avec beaucoup de plaisir la description du jardin d'Éden, et des amours innocentes d'Adam et d'Ève. En effet, il est à remarquer que dans tous les autres poèmes l'amour est regardé comme une faiblesse; dans Milton seul il est une vertu. Le poete a su lever d'une main chaste le voile qui couvre ailleurs les plaisirs de cette passion; il transporte le lecteur dans le jardin de délices, il semble lui faire goûter les voluptés pures dont Adam et Ève sont remplis: il ne s'élève pas au-dessus de la nature humaine, mais au-dessus de la nature humaine corrompue, et comme il n'y a point d'exemple d'un pareil amour, il n'y en a point d'une pareille poésie.' (*Œuvres complètes*, éd Garnier, viii, p. 357.)

[2] Paris, 1727. Telleen (p. 142) enumerates over thirty editions, the latest in 1899.

[3] In the *Table générale et analytique*, at the end of Voltaire's *Œuvres complètes* (éd. Garnier, lii, p. 159), will be found a list of the passages in which Voltaire refers to Milton. The most important are: *Essai sur la poésie épique* (viii, pp. 306 ff., 352 ff.); *Siècle de Louis XIV* (xiv, pp. 76, 133, 559 f.); *Candide* (xxi, p. 204); *Dictionnaire philosophique* (xviii, pp. 580 ff., xx, pp. 35, 396).

Addison's essays on Milton in French (*Remarques sur le Paradis Perdu*) passed through some ten editions in the eighteenth century,[1] and were usually printed with translations of *Paradise Lost*; and round these, we may say, as round a pivot, continental criticism of Milton virtually turned. Stirred to opposition by Addison's eulogy, Constantin de Magny devoted in 1729 a book to the criticism of the poem, a large proportion of it being, however, devoted to a censure of Milton's erring theology; while Bernard Routh, an Irish Jesuit, in his *Lettres critiques*, mingled warm praise with a great deal of irrelevant blame based on preconceived ideas of what epic poetry should be and do.[2] The intention of both these writers was to modify by their criticism the warm reception of Milton in France; but neither, in spite of a strong distaste for Milton's theology, could withhold words of praise in estimating Milton's genius. Consequently the interest in Milton was only stimulated, and Routh's letters were frequently printed with translations of *Paradise Lost*. Dupré de Saint-Maur's version—and, as the outcome of a lengthy and somewhat acrimonious controversy with regard to the authorship,[3] it seems fairly well established that he deserves the main credit for it—was inaccurate and unsatisfactory; but it was eminently readable, even elegant, and certainly well adapted to introduce this strange foreign poet to an audience which must necessarily have experienced a shock on first acquaintance with him. The second translation—also in prose—appeared in 1754–55, and had as its author Louis Racine, the son of the great poet. Racine gave himself great pains with his work; he studied the Latin and Italian versions of *Paradise Lost*, and wrote a sensible and discriminating *Discours sur le Paradis perdu*, which is, on the whole, the best French contribution to Milton

[1] Subsequent translations were published by Élie de Joncourt, 1754, and L. Racine, 1755.

[2] C. F. Constantin de Magny, *Dissertation critique sur le Paradis perdu*, Paris, 1729; B. R*** [Routh], *Lettres critiques sur le Paradis perdu et reconquis de Milton*, Paris, 1731. In 1729 Niceron summed up what was then generally known of Milton in his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres*, ii (1729), pp. 145-61.

[3] As to whether the translation was made by Dupré de Saint-Maur, by the Abbé de Boismorand, or by both. Telleen gathers the evidence together, *l. c.*, pp. 25 ff. The translation was well received by the French journals (*Mercure de France*, 1729, pp. 2882 ff.; *Journal littéraire*, xiv (1729), pp. 337 ff., and xv (1730), pp. 353 ff.; *Mémoires de Trévoux*, 1730, p. 1423); Spence (*Anecdotes*, ed. 1820, p. 36) states on the authority of the Chevalier de Ramsay: 'Since the translation of *Paradise Lost* into French, Milton begins to be greatly admired at Paris;' and Rollin inserted into the later editions of his *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres* (e. g. 1740, vol. i, p. 233) a paragraph in praise of Milton. Reviews of Racine's translation will be found in the *Année littéraire*, 1755, vi, pp. 190 ff., and *Mémoires de Trévoux*, November, 1755, p. 2760.

criticism in the eighteenth century. Here, again, it might be noted that it is Milton's theology which gives most offence. But the want of freedom which straining after greater accuracy brought with it gave Racine's work a laboured impression which made it compare unfavourably with the earlier translation. So Dupré de Saint-Maur continued to hold the first place in the esteem of the French public. As early as 1730, *Paradise Lost* was supplemented by translations of *Paradise Regained*, *Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Lycidas*, and the *Hymn on the Nativity*; but these, by the Abbé Mareuil, were unfortunately indifferent in quality and attracted comparatively little attention.

Thus, from the critical years 1728–30 onwards, Milton was a well-known poet in France, perhaps the best known of all foreign poets;[1] yet the eighteenth century passed away before a really satisfactory translation of any of his works appeared. In spite of the interest which the French showed in Milton, the actual influence of the poet on French literature remained small and unimportant, imitations of *Paradise Lost* such as Durand's *La Chute de l'homme*, *La Christiade* by the Abbé de la Beaume (1753), or *Le Messie* by Dubourg (1777), are mediocrity itself, and will hardly bear comparison even with the religious epics of Bodmer and Lavater in Germany. It was clear that Milton's genius had, after all, no very firm hold on the French mind in the eighteenth century; and France could point to no criticism of Milton which penetrated beneath the surface or encompassed his poetic genius until the rise of the new romantic generation of poets and critics about a hundred years ago.

Meanwhile, two other peoples in Europe, the Italians and the Germans, were interesting themselves in Milton,[2] and in their appreciation of the poet were striking out into paths of their own; they showed themselves far less dependent on the pronouncements of the Voltairean oracle in the case of Milton at this early period than

[1] The various translations of the eighteenth century are discussed at adequate length by Telleen, *l. c.*, pp. 64 ff. *Paradise Lost* was translated by Le Roy (verse), 1775; Beaulaton (verse), 1778; Mosneron (prose), 1786; Luneau de Boisjermain (prose), 1798. A free translation of *Paradise Regained* (in verse) was published by Lancelin in 1755, under the title *Le Triomphe de Jésus-Christ dans le Désert*. More popular than any of these was the paraphrase by Madame du Boccage, *Le Paradis terrestre* (1748). There is, it might also be noted, an echo of the Lauder controversy in the *Journal étranger* of 1754 (October–November).

[2] A recent work, *Giovanni Milton e l'Italia*, by Ettore Allodoli, Prato, 1907, gives a survey of the poet's relations to Italy. For Germany, the only publication dealing with the subject—apart from contributions to periodicals—is a dissertation by Gustav Jenny, *Miltons Verlornes Paradies in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, St. Gallen, 1890. This, however, makes no attempt to cover the field.

in the case of Shakespeare. It was, in fact, the Italians rather than the French who were the pioneers of a true critical appreciation of Milton on the Continent. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were many literary ties between Italy and England, ties in some respects quite as strong as those established by the Huguenot emigrants between England and France. Lorenzo Magalotti, Anton Maria Salvini, the Abbate Conti, Paolo Rolli, the translator of Milton, and Voltaire's friend Count Algarotti, had all either spent part of their lives in England, or were actively interested in English literature. The appearance of Rolli's translation of *Paradise Lost* gave a great impetus to Italian interest, and filled the Italian journals with informing notes and articles concerning the poet, which do not always give indication of having filtered through French periodicals.[1] *Del Paradiso perduto*, translated into unrimed verse by Paolo Rolli, was published in London in a sumptuous folio volume in the year 1735, and attracted a great deal of attention, not merely in literary Italy, but in England itself, for Rolli was Italian tutor to the English royal family and evidently a *persona grata* at court.[2] This may fairly be called the best translation of Milton which the eighteenth century produced. Its chief fault, and a serious one, but imperfectly atoned for by the author's frankly expressed intention, is an extreme literalness, which tends occasionally to harshness, and offends against the spirit of Italian style and language; but it was the only translation into verse which succeeded in reproducing the dignity and sublimity of the original without falling into bombast.

Even greater significance must be attached to the points of agreement between Italian criticism and Milton's practice. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Italian critical theory, which, with the help of the Arcadians, had emerged from the vicious circles of Marinism, and passed through the scathing fire of French attacks

[1] See, for instance, the *Novelle della Repubblica delle Lettere*, Venice, 1730, pp. 76, 165, 206 f., 241 ff., 251 ff.

[2] Six years earlier, in 1729, Rolli published in London a translation of the first six books of *Paradise Lost*; but this I have not been able to see. The edition of 1735 was reprinted in 1740 at Paris and in 1742 at Verona. On Rolli see Allodoli, *l. c.*, pp. 92 ff. and 140 ff. Lorenzo Magalotti also began a translation of *Paradise Lost* (see *Giornale de' Letterati*, xiii (1713), p. 144, S. Fermi, *Lorenzo Magalotti*, Piacenza, 1903, pp. 251 f., and Allodoli, *l. c.*, p. 140). Anton Maria Salvini had likewise, if Bodmer is to be trusted (preface to the first edition of his translation of *Paradise Lost*), the intention of translating the epic, and C. Cordaro (*A. M. Salvini*, Piacenza, 1906, p. 44) mentions that fragments of a translation of Milton are preserved among Salvini's papers in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence.

like that of the Père Bouhours, arrived at a stage when it could both appreciate Milton and draw support from him. Gravina had paved the way by his eloquent praise of Homer and Dante, and by his appreciation of qualities in these poets which were not compatible with the rationalism of Boileau's aesthetics; and L. A. Muratori had, in his plea for the supremacy of the imagination, freed epic poetry from a laming materialism and realism. In fact, although Muratori does not—in his *Della perfetta poesia italiana*, at least—mention Milton, that work might have been in great measure intended as a vindication of *Paradise Lost*. When Rolli's translation appeared, the Italians were thus better prepared than any other continental people to read Milton with understanding; and Rolli himself—as did his fellow countryman Baretti years later on behalf of Shakespeare—took up the defence of Milton when Voltaire singled out certain 'barbarian' liberties for special censure in his *Essay*.[1] Rolli's criticism does not, it must be admitted, show much acumen, and although he had some well-meaning ideas on the scope of epic poetry and the unreasonableness of the French limitations, ideas familiar in the more advanced Italian criticism of the time, he was but ill-equipped to meet so vigilant and unsparing an adversary as Voltaire. It is, however, significant for the kind of attention which Milton attracted in Italy, that Rolli believed he was doing the best service to the cause of Italian poetry, and especially of Tasso, by refuting Voltaire's fault-finding with Milton.

Unfortunately, this excellent beginning of Italian criticism in the early eighteenth century did not fulfil its promise. Muratori, Gravina, Conti, and others had familiarized their countrymen with a conception of the epic which justified Tasso and removed all obstacles from the way of an ungrudging appreciation of Milton; but the following generation of critics, men like Francesco Quadrio, Count Algarotti, and Saverio Bettinelli,[2] fell back once more on Voltaire. They had nothing for *Paradise Lost* but, at the best, cold patronage, and, at the worst, impertinent ridicule. Even that encyclo-

[1] Rolli's reply to Voltaire was written in English: *Remarks upon M. Voltaire's Essay on the Epic Poetry of the European Nations*. By Paul Rolli, London, 1728. It was subsequently appended in translation to Rolli's *Paradiso perduto*. It ought also to be added that the latter was accompanied by a succinct and accurate Life of Milton. Baretti's *Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry*, London, 1753, also takes up the defence of Milton against Voltaire.

[2] F. S. Quadrio, *Storia e ragione d'ogni poesia*, iv (1749), pp. 285 ff.; F. Algarotti's correspondence in his *Opere*, Venice, 1791–4, x, pp. 39, 125 f.; S. Bettinelli, *Opere*, Venice, 1799, iv (*Dell' entusiasmo delle belle arti*), pp. 11, 76, 210, 313; xii (*Lettere inglesi*), pp. 179, 313. Cp. Allodoli, *l.c.*

paedic critic, the Abbate Giovanni Andres, or rather Juan Andrés —he was a Spanish Jesuit who wrote in Italian—is clearly under the influence of Voltaire in his judgements of English writers, but he at least claims for Milton the distinction of being the greatest of all English poets.[1] The stimulus of the earlier and more adventurous critics was not, however, lost; and it is to be traced more clearly outside Italy than in Italy itself. In Spain, for instance, Ignacio de Luzán, one of Muratori's most distinguished disciples, was the first Spaniard to draw attention to Milton,[2] and, in Germany, Johann Jakob Bodmer, who also owed his most vital ideas to Muratori, first created that interest in the English poet which Berge, nearly forty years before, had failed to awaken.

It cannot be said that the interest of Spain in Milton during the eighteenth century was more than an indifferent curiosity. As Luzán had translated parts of *Paradise Lost* in prose, so José de Cadalso translated some passages in verse; Luis José de Velázquez mentions, in his *Orígenes de la Poesía Castellana* (1754), a translation of *Paradise Lost* by Alonso Dalda as being 'the only translation from the English that we have', and Arteaga refers to another by Antonio Palazuelos; but neither of these is apparently to be traced, and it is not unreasonable to infer that they were never published.[3] On the other hand, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos translated the first book of *Paradise Lost*,[4] and the influence of Milton is to be seen in the work of Juan Meléndez Valdés, especially in his epics, *La Creación* and *La Caída de Luzbel*.[5] Of Spanish criticism of Milton

[1] G. Andres, *Dell' origine, progressi e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*, Parma, 1782–5, i, pp. 418 f.; ii, pp. 74, 103, 159–64. 'Il Milton è realmente il più gran genio, di cui possa tenersi onorata l'inglesa poesia. La vastità dell' impresa ed alcuni passi sublimi del 'Paradiso perduto' gli danno la superiorità sopra tutti gli altri suoi nazionali' (ii, p. 74).

[2] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, v, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1903, pp. 29, 175.

[3] *Orígenes de la Poesía Castellana*, 2nd ed., Malaga, 1797, p. 128. See also Menéndez y Pelayo, *l.c.*, vi (1904), p. 89.

[4] G. M. de Jovellanos, *Obras* (*Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, xlvi), 1858, pp. 26 ff.

[5] See L. A. de Cueto-Valmar, *Historia crítica de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII*, Madrid, 1893, i, p. 407. See also Meléndez' letters to Jovellanos in Cueto-Valmar, *l. c.*, iii, pp. 59, 61, 77 f. There are Spanish translations of *Paradise Lost* by J. de Escoiquiz, three vols., Bourges, 1812; B. Ramón de Hermida, two vols., Madrid, 1814; A. Galindo, Gante, 1868; D. San Martin, Madrid, 1882; and D. San Juan, Barcelona, 1883. Translations into Portuguese by J. A. de Silva (also of *Paradise Regained*), two vols., Lisbon, 1789; F. B. M. Targini, two vols., Paris, 1823; and A. J. de Lima Leitão, two vols., Lisbon, 1840. For my references to Milton in Spain I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

there is even less to say : and probably such opinions as the Spaniards formed of Milton at the end of the eighteenth century were drawn mainly from the Spanish translation of Andres' Italian work, which had considerable influence in Spain.[1] At a later date, Manuel José de Quintana discussed Milton from the standpoint of French classicism in his *Variedades de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes*,[2] and became involved in a controversy with Blanco White.[3]

The question as to how Bodmer in Switzerland came to be attracted by Milton is one of considerable importance; for it is closely bound up with the larger question of the origins of modern German critical theory. These are to be sought, by no means exclusively, as has hitherto been assumed, in England, but also to a large extent in Italy. As a young man, Bodmer had spent happy days in Italy, ineffectually preparing himself for a mercantile career, but browsing to his heart's content on Italian books; the poetry and critical literature of Italy made him a man of letters and gave his thoughts that trend which they never subsequently lost. His interest in Milton, fanned into enthusiasm as it was at a somewhat later date by the study of Addison, was undoubtedly awakened in the first instance by his Italian friends.[4] It was, above all, Muratori who opened the eyes of Bodmer and his fellow-worker Breitinger to the immense significance of Milton for the liberation of the poetic imagination which had been so long fettered by the rules of pseudo-classicism; it was to a large extent due to the influence of the Italians that Bodmer was induced to translate *Paradise Lost*, and to set up that poem as an exemplar of the 'miraculous' in poetry. From Muratori Bodmer borrowed his doctrine of the 'fantasy' which he found so magnificently illustrated in Milton's poem; Calepio taught him that the dicta of French classicism were by no means the incontrovertible dogmas they appeared to the greater part of literary Europe; even Dubos' ideas seem to have in part reached Bodmer through Italian channels; while Conti drew his attention to the dramatic genius of the English 'Sasper'.

With these stimulating ideas in his mind, Bodmer turned to *Paradise Lost*. After some difficulty he obtained a copy of the

[1] On Andres in Spain, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c*, vi, pp. 13 ff.

[2] *Variedades*, iii (1804), pp. 164 ff., 241 ff., 361 ff.

[3] See *Correo Literario y Económico de Sevilla*, iv, pp. 177 ff., 201 ff., 209 ff. and 217 ff. The occasion of the Quintana-Blanco controversy was an imitation of *Paradise Lost*, *La Inocencia perdida* by Félix José Reinoso (1799). See Cueto-Valmar, *l. c.*, ii, pp. 122 ff.

[4] This inference is to be drawn from the preface to his translation of *Paradise Lost* (1732).

English original, and set to work at once to translate it; and just as Dupré de Saint-Maur had, following the example of Madame Dacier's *Homer*, chosen prose as the medium of his translation, so Bodmer, in 1732, turned Milton into German prose—a clumsy and unwieldy 'Swiss' German, which the author repeatedly polished in subsequent editions, but never succeeded in polishing to any high degree of brightness.[1] It was virtually round this translation of Milton that the famous literary controversy between Bodmer and Breitinger, on the one hand, and the Leipzig professor Gottsched, on the other, took place.[2] Gottsched was at first not unkindly disposed to the Swiss translation,[3] but as soon as he saw how the wind was blowing in Zurich he turned upon Bodmer with a virulence hardly surpassed even by his master Voltaire. To offer Milton to the German public as a curious example of the perversities of genius in a land like England, where good taste was only slowly gaining ingress, would have been pardonable; but to claim Milton as a master and to make *Paradise Lost* serve—and this was virtually what Bodmer and Breitinger did in their clumsy, ill-written tomes dealing with literary and critical theory [4]—as a text for Muratori's subversive theory that the imagination and not the reason was the more important factor in poetry, was quite another matter, and demanded, in Gottsched's eyes, summary treatment. To admit Milton's genius meant, as he very well realized, to endanger the foundations of the classic literature of the seventeenth century.[5]

But Gottsched was in the end worsted, and from the midst of the strife, even from the circle of Gottsched's own followers, there

[1] The data have been brought together by Hans Bodmer in the paper on *Die Anfange des Bodmerschen Milton* already quoted. See also Th. Vetter, *J. J. Bodmer und die englische Literatur*, in the *Bodmer-Denkschrift*, Zürich, 1900, pp. 315 ff. The full title of the first edition of Bodmer's translation is 'Johann Miltons Verlust des Paradieses. Ein Helden-Gedicht. In ungebundener Rede übersetzet. Zurich, 1732'. Subsequent editions appeared in 1742, 1754, 1759, 1769, and 1780.

[2] The literature on the controversy is extensive: see F. Servaes, *Die Poetik Gottscheds und der Schweizer*, Strassburg, 1887; F. Braitmaier, *Geschichte der poetischen Theorie und Kritik von den Diskursen der Maler bis auf Lessing*, Leipzig, 1888; G. Waniek, *Gottsched und die Literatur seiner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1897.

[3] *Beiträge zur critischen Historie*, &c., i (1732), pp. 190 ff.

[4] Especially Bodmer's *Critische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie*, Zurich, 1740, and his *Abhandlung von der Schreibart in Miltons Verlohrnem Paradiese*, in the *Sammlung critischer, poetischer und andrer geistvollen Schriften*, iii, Zürich, 1742, pp. 75 ff.

[5] See especially the German translation of Bayle's *Dictionary*, which was prepared under Gottsched's supervision, Leipzig, 1741–4, iii, pp. 399 ff; iv, pp. 75, 162, 688 f.

emerged in Klopstock a genuine poet, the fountain-head of whose inspiration was Milton. Klopstock's epic *Der Messias* was the first important German poem of the eighteenth century, and it owed its inception and plan to the controversy about Milton and to the example of Milton's *Paradise Lost.* In view of what has already been done by German scholars,[1] it is unnecessary to estimate again Klopstock's indebtedness to his English model. The general conditions of a religious epic as laid down by Milton were accepted *in toto* by Klopstock; the latter's attitude of mind towards the sacred story and his manner of approach are clearly influenced by *Paradise Lost.* The *dramatis personae* of the two epics show many points of resemblance, Klopstock's famous angel Abbadona being modelled on Milton's Abdiel; but with regard to the methods of characterization Klopstock's shadowy, lyric art, which appealed by suggestion, and Milton's vigorous dramatic power of presentation were at opposite poles. It is important, however, to notice that it was just the aspect of Milton's poetry which had appealed so forcibly to Bodmer, namely, his imaginative flights, his grandiose conceptions of heaven and hell, which inspired the finest passages in the *Messias.*

As far as the influence of Milton in Germany is concerned, the popularity of Klopstock's epic confused entirely the issue. From now on the production of religious epics in Germany was considerable—Bodmer himself and Lavater might be mentioned as cultivating this form of literature [2]—and this production undoubtedly kept the German public in touch and familiar with Milton, but there could be no question of an influence of Milton apart from that of his German imitator, and, indeed, one might go so far as to say there was none. In 1762 a new translation of *Paradise Lost* into German hexameters was published by F. W. Zacharia, a writer who had for a time contributed to the same journal—the *Bremer Beiträge*—in which the first three cantos of Klopstock's *Messias* appeared. But in spite of his use of verse Zacharia's work does not show much advance over Bodmer's: his knowledge of English—at least at the time when he made the translation—was insufficient for his task, and he has failed

[1] See especially F. Muncker, *F. G. Klopstock, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1900, pp. 117 ff., and cp. B. Zumbini's essay *Il Messia del Klopstock* in *Studi di Letterature straniere*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1907, pp. 153 ff.

[2] Bodmer's *Noah* appeared in 1750; Lavater's *Jesus Messias* in 1783–6, his *Joseph von Arimathia* in 1794. *Paradise Lost* no doubt also appealed strongly to Albrecht von Haller, whose early poetry—especially the didactic *Vom Ursprung des Übels* (1734)—shows Milton's influence.

to reproduce those finer qualities of Milton's verse that had attracted men of larger calibre such as Klopstock. A translation, the last of the eighteenth century in Germany, by S. G. Burde, published in 1793, is now even more completely forgotten.[1] Thus, in spite of a deeper understanding for Milton's art in Germany than in France, it cannot be said—as it could be in the case of Shakespeare—that the Germans of the eighteenth century showed any superiority to the French as translators. In fact, of all the great poets of the world, Milton has, perhaps, been least satisfactorily translated into German, the reason being not that he is peculiarly untranslatable, but that the vital interest in him had waned before the era of accurate and painstaking translating began.

The only other continental country which, early in the eighteenth century, interested itself in Milton, was Holland. A Dutch translation of *Paradise Lost* in blank verse appeared in 1728 at Haarlem, this being the earliest of all the translations into verse. The author was J. van Zanten. A second translation—or rather paraphrase in Alexandrines of the first, for its author, L. Paludanus, was ignorant of English—was published at Amsterdam in 1730.[2] The previous history of Dutch literature might have led us to anticipate a particularly warm welcome for Milton in Holland, but the influence of *Paradise Lost* on the Dutch literature of the eighteenth century does not seem to have been great, and such influence as did show itself later in the century, probably came by way of Klopstock.

The foregoing survey of the gradual acclimatization of Milton on the Continent of Europe cannot but emphasize the close parallelism between Milton's case and that of Shakespeare. The first period,

[1] The earliest German translation of *Paradise Regained* is by S. Grynaeus, *J. Miltons Wiedererobertes Paradies, nebst desselben Samson und einigen andern Gedichten, wie auch einer Lebens-Beschreibung*, Basel, 1752. In 1781 an anonymous translation appeared at Mannheim. In the nineteenth century *Paradise Lost* was translated into German by J. F. Pries, Rostock, 1813; F. W. Bruckbräu (also *Paradise Regained*), 1828; Rosenzweig, Dresden, 1832; Kottenkamp, Stuttgart, 1841; A. Böttger (with *Paradise Regained*), Leipzig, 1846; B. Schuhmann, Stuttgart, 1855; K. Eitner, Hildburghausen, 1865.

[2] Reviews of these translations will be found in the *Journal littéraire*, xiv (1729), pp. 237 ff., and xv (1730), pp. 245 ff. Copies of both are in the British Museum, as well as of later ones by J. H. Reisig, Zutphen, 1791-1811, and J. F. Schimsheimer. Through the courtesy of Professor H. J. C. Grierson I am able to add some references to Milton in Dutch literature kindly sent by Professor G. Kalff of Leyden: P. Huizinga Bakker, *Poezy*, Amsterdam, 1773, iii, pp. 115 ff.; H. van Alphen, *Theorie der schoone Kunsten* (an adaptation of a German work), 1778, p. xi; J. D. Macquet, *Proeven van dichtkundige Letteroefeningen*, 1780–83, ii, p. 88 ff.; W. Bilderdijk, *De Echt*, 1812 (*Dichtwerken*, 1856–59, vii); and W. de Clercq's *Dagboek* (1812), ed. A. Pierson, 1888, I, p. 34.

when Milton was virtually only known as a dangerous political writer, corresponds with the period during which Shakespeare was little more than a name to the continental peoples. In both cases it was Voltaire who stimulated a wider interest; it pleased his vanity to pose as the discoverer of these new literary wonders, but as soon as others—often with deeper understanding and more genuine sympathy than he—came forward to espouse the cause of the English poets, Voltaire turned round, and atoned for his earlier advocacy by proclaiming, with a hostility that was intensified as time went on, the gospel of good taste and common sense, and the supremacy of the reason. Again, as in the case of Shakespeare, we find Milton taking an extraordinarily firm hold on the German mind of the later eighteenth century, becoming bound up with every literary controversy that involved the progress of German poetry; whereas in France the most vital period for Milton's, as well as for Shakespeare's influence, is to be sought in the nineteenth century. But to sum up exactly what Milton meant for continental literatures in the eighteenth century, to trace his modifying and remoulding influence, especially on the literatures of France and Germany, is by no means easy. Works have been enumerated in these literatures which may be described as either direct or indirect imitations of Milton's art and style; but, as has been seen, France produced virtually no poem of even second or third rank modelled on *Paradise Lost*, and if we are obliged to give the *Messias* of Klopstock the first place among imitations of Milton it is less because of its intrinsic value than of its relative value for the poetry of its time and country. But the vital and life-giving influence of Milton is to be sought elsewhere. It was he who, more than any other poet, gave the sober rationalism of the earlier eighteenth century a tincture of fantasy. Just as, by reinforcing the Italian critics, Milton had broken the fetters of pseudo-classicism in theory, so he became at a later period an example to the young poets who were minded to do likewise. Even Voltaire himself, with all his antagonism, would never have dared his own higher imaginative flights had it not been for the abhorred examples of Shakespeare and Milton; occasionally in his epic and dramatic poetry we feel that he has the superhuman figures and the sublime *milieu* of *Paradise Lost* in his memory. In Germany this influence is more obvious and marked, although it came in most cases, as we have seen, through Klopstock; but, whether the immediate source was the *Messias* or *Paradise Lost* itself, there is no doubt that those Titanic figures with which Goethe's imagination wrestled in his early days at Frankfort—Prometheus, Mahomet, Faust—owe

not a little of their grandeur to Milton. Mephistopheles without Satan is as unthinkable as the cosmic framework of *Faust* without Milton's world as its model.

When we turn to the nineteenth century, a marked contrast presents itself between the history of Shakespeare's fame abroad and Milton's. While Shakespeare went on extending his kingdom, invading the most remote of languages, and gaining a footing on the national theatres of almost every civilized people, Milton's fame became in Europe, with the exception of France and, to some extent, Italy, a purely literary and bookish matter. The difficulty in the case of most of the smaller European literatures was that they had not shown any receptivity for English literary ideas until the eighteenth century was well-nigh over; and by that time the religious epic, and indeed the epic generally, had ceased to be a form of poetry into which a nation poured by preference its best inspirations. At the same time, it is strange that the Scandinavian peoples—especially when we remember the almost puritanic religious revival which affected the north, and more particularly Norway, early in the nineteenth century—should have been so little influenced by Milton, and that such influence as can be traced, came rather, as in the case of other literatures, by way of Klopstock.[1] In Germany, again, Milton had at the close of the eighteenth century expended his stimulating force, and had also lost his former interest for the literary classes. Wearied by the long-drawn-out publication of *Der Messias* in the previous century, the younger generation was inclined to regard the religious epic with indifference, if not with actual dislike. Neither Goethe nor Schiller in riper years advanced beyond a cold and critical attitude towards *Paradise Lost*, and the Roman Catholic and unpuritanic religious atmosphere of the German romantic movement precluded naturally that warm partizanship which was extended so readily to Shakespeare and Calderón. Germany was even more at the mercy of foreign influences in the nineteenth century than in the eighteenth: Shakespeare, Byron, Scott, Chateaubriand, Hugo, all left deep traces on her literature, but not so the poet of *Paradise Lost*. And this seems to have been true in general of all the Germanic peoples. Translations of Milton were welcomed by all interested in the great literature of the past, but no single German, Dutch, or Scandinavian poet was gripped by Milton's genius as, for instance, Chateaubriand

[1] *Paradise Lost* was translated into Danish by J. H. Schonheyder in 1790 (also *Paradise Regained*, 1792); into Icelandic by Jón Þorláksson in 1828; into Swedish by J. G. Oxenstierna, 1815; while both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* were translated into the last-mentioned language by V. E. Oman in 1862.

was in France. Still fainter was the influence of Milton in Slavonic lands, for although these had not, like the Western European nations, outgrown the epic, Milton's uncompromising Puritanism, perhaps even the very vigour of his imagination, was not palatable to the lyric and melancholy genius of the race. Byron here, as generally in the south of Europe, was a more actual and impressive force than Milton had ever been.

But in France, as has been indicated, it was otherwise. One might even go so far as to say that the French literature of the first twenty or thirty years of the nineteenth century represents the most intense period of Miltonic influence on any alien literature. And the centre of the enthusiasm for Milton was Chateaubriand, who 'for thirty years of his life had read, re-read, and translated Milton'.[1] Madame de Stael rang in the new era with some noble words on Milton in her treatise *De la littérature* (1800),[2] but it was Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* which gave the emigrant literature its Miltonic stamp and colouring. With warm, enthusiastic, and affectionate penetration, Chateaubriand eulogized *Paradise Lost* in that work as it had never been eulogized before. The epic to him is, as a form of literature, superior to the drama, and Milton he would even place above Homer. But this was not Chateaubriand's first pronouncement upon Milton: in 1797 he had published his poem *Milton et Davenant*, and he had also given promise of his future appreciations in the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* and in his criticism of Young (1801). His own prose epic, *Les Martyrs* (1809), is visibly inspired by Milton, and his essay *De quelques imperfections du 'Paradis perdu'* contains the warmest praise of all, for, not content with pointing out the 'imperfections', it also justifies them. In 1836 appeared Chateaubriand's own translation of *Paradise Lost*, which may without difficulty be claimed as the best translation of the poem into French prose.[3] But as a translator Chateaubriand was not alone; translation after translation seemed to spring up out of the ground in those days in France, amongst them a notable one into French verse by the poet Jacques Delille, which appeared in 1804-5, shortly after the *Génie du Christianisme*. The French critical organs were constantly occupied in discussing Milton, and, indeed, so actual and real did Milton's world become to these men that they saw in it an apt reflection of the

[1] Preface to the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise, Œuvres complètes*, ix, p. 2. There is an excellent chapter on Chateaubriand and Milton in Dr. Telleen's book.

[2] *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1820-1, iv, pp. 309 f.

[3] See *Œuvres complètes*, vols. viii and ix.

political events of their own day.[1] The enthusiasm of Chateaubriand was infectious; it passed over to other leading men of letters of the first half of the century. The dominant religious trend of Lamartine's mind would, one might have thought, have made him peculiarly receptive to Milton's influence; but that influence does not seem to have led to any direct imitation of Milton in Lamartine's poetic works; in this respect, Ossian was a much more important source of inspiration than the poet of *Paradise Lost.*[2] On the other hand, A. de Vigny was no doubt in his own epic poetry directly influenced by Milton, whom he introduced into his novel *Cinq-Mars*;[3] while Victor Hugo, in the famous manifesto of the *école romantique*, the Preface to *Cromwell* (1827), extends to Milton some of the enthusiasm he expresses for Shakespeare.[4] This admiration of Milton spread in some degree to other Latin countries at the beginning of the nineteenth century, notably to Italy, where between 1800 and 1830 there were almost as many new translations of Milton as in France.[5] Here Vincenzo Monti was a warm admirer of Milton, and in his own poetry shows constant traces of Milton's example.[6]

Milton was thus one of the forces which moulded the French emigrant literature and the more brilliant romantic poetry that followed it, perhaps an even greater force in stimulating the French imagination and the moral and religious forces that lay behind the literary revival than Shakespeare himself. It is difficult to keep asunder the many delicate threads of literary influence which manifest themselves in a modern period of literary history, and impossible to dogmatize with certainty as to the first source of any vitalizing poetic thought; but a generalization might in the present case be hazarded: of the three chief forces which influenced the French romantic move-

[1] Professor F. Baldensperger, of Lyons, draws my attention to this interesting testimony to Milton's actuality. The Council of the Devils seemed, for instance, to the *émigrés* the very likeness of the Comité de Salut Public (Clémenceau, *Le Vengeur des rois*, London, 1801, chant Ier, str. lv; Un officier de cavalerie, *De l'influence de la philosophie sur les forfaits de la Révolution*, Paris, n.d., p. 66).

[2] Lamartine's *Héloise et Abélard* (1864) contains an essay on Milton.

[3] *Cinq-Mars*, Paris, 1826, chapter xx and conclusion.

[4] Milton is also one of the characters of the drama.

[5] Allodoli enumerates no less than twelve between those of Silvio Martinengo and L. A. Corner, in 1803, and Andrea Maffei's in 1863. Mention should also be made here of a volume of Milton criticism by F. Scolari, *Saggio di critica sul Paradiso Perduto di Giovanni Milton*, Venice, 1818. For French translations in the nineteenth century, see Telleen, *l.c.*, pp. 122 ff.

[6] Monti's *La Bellezza dell' universo* and *Prometeo* are clearly influenced by Milton. See B. Zumbini, *Sulle poesie di Vincenzo Monti*, Florence, 1886, pp. 3 ff., 107 ff. Cp. also V. Monti, *Opere*, vi, Milan, 1842, pp. 459 ff., and Allodoli, *l.c.*, pp. 123 ff.

ment from without, Shakespeare provided a poetic world rich in fancy and humour, and never out of touch with reality, the German poets satisfied the fantastic cravings of the romantic mood, while Milton deepened and reinvigorated the French imagination and taught it how to soar. His contribution to the French romantic ideas was thus in some respects the most fundamental and vital of all, but as a consequence it manifested itself more among those writers who prepared the French mind for the seeds of romanticism than in the romanticists themselves. Without what Milton had to give, it is difficult to see how the French could have become within the short space of a generation in so high a degree receptive to the imaginative world of Shakespeare and Goethe. Milton, in other words, helped to bridge the gulf that separated the negative critical spirit of the age of Voltaire from the positive and constructive epoch of romanticism. He deepened the national imagination, which had grown shallow and cynical; he helped to bring back to France that faith in God and man which the Encyclopaedists, followed by the Revolution, had destroyed; and he inspired Chateaubriand with the best elements in that most hopeful and promising of all the books which opened the new century, the *Génie du Christianisme.* This would seem to be Milton's peculiar mission at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and, in so far as he succeeded, he must be counted among the fundamental forces behind the evolution of our own age.[1]

[1] It is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss the contributions of foreign nations to the scholarly investigation and criticism of Milton's life and work, but mention might be made of A. Geffroy, *Étude sur les pamphlets politiques et religieux de Milton,* Paris, 1848 ; E. de Guerle, *Milton, sa vie et ses œuvres,* Paris, 1868 ; Taine's criticism in his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise,* ii, pp. 327–435 ; and E. Scherer's essay on *Milton et le Paradis perdu* (*Études sur la littérature contemporaine,* vol. vi, pp. 151 ff., Paris, 1876), in French ; A. Stern's *Milton und seine Zeit,* three vols., Leipzig, 1877–9, in German ; and B. Zumbini's essay in *Studi di letterature straniere,* 2nd ed., Florence, 1907, pp. 61 ff., in Italian.

SAMSON AGONISTES AND THE HELLENIC DRAMA

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I

Samson Agonistes may fairly be called classical both in language and in structure. The language has throughout elevation and temperate dignity, resembling that of *Paradise Lost*, but colder, and with fewer bursts of great eloquence. The structure fails only in one point, the metre of the choruses. The lyrical beauty of the choral odes in a Greek tragedy depended much on their division into corresponding parts, the strophe, the antistrophe, and the epode. It is the balance and symmetry of these strophic movements to which the regular grace of the choruses is chiefly due. Milton here has freed himself from the restraint of strophe and antistrophe, and the measures of his Chorus are entirely arbitrary. This very irregularity has, it is true, a certain grandeur, but is not the grandeur proper to a tragedy on the Greek model; it is rather the sublimity of some of the bursts of eloquence in the Hebrew prophets.[1]

Another criticism, upon the structure of the drama, is offered by Johnson—that the action of the drama makes no continuous progress from the beginning to the end. The opening is fine; the catastrophe is just; but there is no dramatic progress. This criticism appears to me far too strongly expressed. The *Samson Agonistes* falls into five Acts:—

1. Act i, 1–325:
   Samson and the Chorus.
2. Act ii, 326–731:
   Samson and Manoah.
3. Act iii, 732–1060:
   Samson and Dalila.
4. Act iv, 1061–1299:
   Samson and Harapha.
5. Act v, 1300–1758:
   Samson and the Philistines.

[1] See, for instance, the last choral song, vv 1660–1707.

Is it true that, as Dr. Johnson declares, after the point at which Manoah informs Samson of the feast to Dagon (vv. 433–47), no incident which advances the plot occurs until the catastrophe?

The catastrophe, let it be observed, consists in Samson deliberately pulling down the temple of Dagon on his own head and those of the spectators. Samson's will is the agent of the catastrophe. Everything, therefore, which helps to determine Samson's will and to define his purpose leads to the catastrophe.

Now (*a*) the last part of Act ii, vv. 606–731, cannot from this point of view be thought, as Johnson thinks it, idle. In that passage Samson expresses his resolution to die—a resolution fixed in him by the tidings just brought by Manoah of the honour to Dagon and the consequent dishonour to God, resulting from Samson's own weakness. He tells his father that he must not propose to seek his release. Thus the issue is so far narrowed; we see that one way of escape is closed; Samson will not allow himself to be ransomed.

But perhaps Dalila in her remorse will intercede for him, and he will be extricated in that way? The third Act brings Dalila on the scene, and at once she proffers her good offices (vv. 743–7).

It is now clear that Samson will accept no kind of mediation, and that he will die in captivity, either worn out by sorrow or in some great agony, which his treatment of the Philistines may hasten or delay. At this moment the giant Harapha enters, and to his insults Samson replies with defiance. As he leaves the scene the Chorus say:

> He will directly to the lords, I fear,
> And with malicious counsel stir them up
> Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.

Thus all is at last ready. Samson, crushed by despair and shame for himself and Israel, has rejected the proposal of Manoah to treat for his release; has made the intercession of Dalila impossible; finally, by bitter defiance of Harapha, has prepared for himself some crowning ignominy at the hands of his captors.

Surely, then, it cannot be said, as Dr. Johnson says, that the action of the drama makes no progress between the opening and the close. The action is, indeed, a still action, because the force which is to produce the catastrophe is the inward force of Samson's own despair, not an external necessity pressing upon him. Precisely the same is the case in the *Prometheus Vinctus* of Aeschylus, a drama consisting, like *Samson Agonistes*, of a series of interviews.

II

A more interesting inquiry than any regarding the form of the *Samson Agonistes* is that regarding its spirit. Granting it to be in diction and in structure representative of that Greek drama which was its model, how far, we ask, is it animated by the spirit, by the dominant idea, of its original? This point appears to have been too little considered by the critics of Milton's great poem; and it is to this point especially that I wish to direct attention.

Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his essay entitled 'Culture and Anarchy', has made the terms Hebraism and Hellenism familiar as designating two opposed, or at least widely divergent, moral habits. Hebraism, as used by him, means the tendency to energetic action under the pressure and control of strict conscience. Hellenism denotes the desire to appreciate justly in the light of a free consciousness. The Hebrew acts strongly with an earnest faith. The Hellene thinks, and then acts in temperate obedience to his thought. The characteristic of Hebraism is direct intensity. The characteristic of Hellenism is flexible intelligence. The Hebrew has force, the Hellene has light.

I am not proposing now to broach the question whether the terms Hebraism and Hellenism accurately or completely express a fundamental antithesis between two permanent types of human activity. But these terms, in a narrower and stricter acceptation, form the contrast which immediately concerns us here.

Milton's mind was, in the literal and proper sense, Hebraic. Among those things which Hebrews have always believed and felt most strongly, and by believing and feeling which they have been characterized, are these:—(1) that God is the personal head, the immediate King, the very leader in battle, of His servants; (2) that the Hebrew people are, in a special sense, His *chosen* servants; a peculiar people, chosen by Him from other peoples; (3) that, as the interpreters of His will to His chosen servants, He from time to time selects men whom He directly and specially inspires, and who become what we denote by the Greek word προφῆται—i. e. *speakers forth*, *utterers* of His will.

Now, Milton habitually thought of the English people as holding the same place under the New Covenant which the Hebrews had held under the Old Covenant. He regarded them as a peculiar nation, selected by God to proclaim to the modern world the purest form of

Faith, as the Hebrews had been chosen to declare to the old world the highest form of Law.[1]

He compares the English Commonwealth to the Hebrew Theocracy. In adopting that form of government, he says, the people chosen by God under the New Covenant have resolved to have for their one Supreme Ruler no other than God Himself. Men endued with great gifts are now, as of old, His prophets. From his early youth Milton's genius had that which is seldom separate from genius—a certain still consciousness of itself; and from his early youth this consciousness was solemn—joined to a sense that these powers were destined to be employed in the ministry of a government whose Head was God Himself; that he was, in his place and time, to be an interpreter to England of the best things imparted to him—that he was to be a prophet.

When a man with this bent of thought selected as the subject for a poem an episode of Hebrew history, the treatment of the subject was sure to be genuinely Hebraic. It would be needless to point out how, or how thoroughly, the spirit of the *Samson Agonistes* is the spirit of Hebraism. Samson is the champion of the Israelites against the Philistines. Jehovah is the God of the Israelites; Dagon is the protecting deity of the Philistines. Samson, through disloyalty to himself, has been permitted to fall into the hand of the idolaters; and Israel shares in his humiliation. Yet, even in this abasement, Samson is confident that the Lord of Hosts will finally assert His own majesty against the idol. This confidence is justified: the honour of the true God and of His chosen people are vindicated by the catastrophe which punishes the weakness, as it closes the penance, of His individual minister. This is the issue of the drama—Jehovah has prevailed over Dagon; Israel is avenged on Philistia.

Is this tragedy Hellenic in its spirit? If the names were changed—if the supernatural and the mortal agents were different—would it be possible to conceive this subject thus treated by Aeschylus, by Sophocles, or by Euripides?

The first characteristic of Hellenic tragedy in the hands of its greatest masters was an ideal grandeur of agony depending on a real grandeur of contrast. The contrast was between man and fate. The

[1] *Areopagitica*: 'God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in His Church . . . what does He then but reveal Himself to His servants, and, as His manner is, first to His Englishmen?'

Doct. and Disc. of Divorce: 'It would not be the first or second time since our Ancient Druides . . . that England hath had this honour vouchsafed from heaven to give out Reformation to the world.' Cf. the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.

subject of Greek tragedy in all its forms, in all the fables over which it ranged, was the conflict between free will and destiny, between an absolute inward liberty and an inexorable external necessity. The gods themselves are subordinate to fate, either as administrators or as rebels; and the question so often asked, what is the source of imaginative pleasure in tragedy? is thus answered by Hellenic tragedy: it is the sense, on the one hand, of the heroic in man; on the other hand, of a superhuman controlling power.

It would not be difficult to select from the dramatic poetry of Greece passages which would interpret this statement. But there is one which, though limited in its scope, is, perhaps, better suited to the purpose than any other single passage. In his tragedy *Eumenides* Aeschylus has put into the mouth of the Furies themselves the theory of that government which, as the executants of the Fates' darkest decrees, they exercise over the whole human race. The Furies are not the Fates; but they are their most potent and most certain ministers; and the sublime Chorus in which they describe the sway committed to them is no imperfect expression of the deepest religious feeling of the ancient Greeks.[1]

Hellenism contrasts man with fate. Hebraism contrasts God and His servants with idols and their servants. The difference will be best illustrated if the Hebrew personification of strength is compared with the Hellenic personification of strength; if Samson and his destiny are compared with Herakles and his destiny. It may be proper to inquire at the commencement—how far is the parallel just? What are the points of analogy between the history of Samson and the legend of Herakles? For convenience, I will speak of Herakles, a Hellenic idea, as if he was no less actual than Samson, a Hebrew fact.

They may be described as analogies of epoch; of mission; of temperament; of sufferings; of death.

Of epoch. Each was a strong man in a rude age—an age of widely-spread physical violence and fierce passions; an age of spasmodic efforts.

Of mission. Each was a deliverer. Samson was the champion, immediately, of his own tribe, the tribe of Dan, against the Philistines —who were straitening them in their already narrow borders between the mountains and the sea—and thereby of all Israel; Herakles, as he is himself made to say, 'ridding the earth of plagues, vexed his soul on the sea and in all forests.'

Of temperament. In his lectures on the Jewish Church Dean Stanley has well brought out the 'rough humour' which is a

[1] *Eumenides*, vv. 306-80.

leading characteristic of Samson. 'As a peal of hearty laughter breaks in upon the despondency of individual sorrow, so the joviality of Samson becomes a pledge of the revival of the greatness of his nation.' Precisely this quality is prominent in the Greek Herakles; and no one will forget the interpretation of this trait in Browning's *Balaustion*.

Of sufferings. Each becomes a thrall; and the most bitter thraldom of each is due to misplaced affection. Herakles is the slave of Omphale and the victim of Deianeira, as Samson was plotted against by his first wife, and successfully betrayed by Dalila.

Of death. Each passed away in agony—Herakles on Oeta; Samson in the temple at Gaza.

Such are some of the principal points of analogy between Herakles and Samson; and the analogy appears sufficient to justify a general comparison of poems which concern the two heroes.

The central idea of Samson's history, and, in harmony with that history, the central idea of Milton's poem, is the idea of a national champion, first victorious, then abased, then finally triumphant in a national cause. The feeling uppermost in Samson's mind is this—that the strength entrusted to him for the honour of God and of Israel has, through his own weakness, been betrayed and crushed; and that the great cause which he was commissioned to uphold has thereby been dishonoured. When Samson has perished in the temple of Dagon it is Manoah's comfort that this stain has been effaced (vv. 448–71, 1669–1720).

The central idea of the story of Herakles is that of a champion of the whole human race, persecuted throughout his mortal life by a cruel destiny. In his supreme agony—when the robe anointed by the unsuspecting Deianeira with the poisoned blood of the Centaur Nessus is burning into his flesh, as he writhes in his torment by the altar at Cenaeum, whence he is borne to his fiery death on Mount Oeta—his foremost thought is this, that the strength which had been used for all mankind has been overcome by an unworthy adversary through the working of destiny. Samson in his death triumphs over the Philistines; Herakles in his last agony is the victim of fate.[1]

[1] *Trach.*, vv. 1046–63:

Ah me, whose hands and shoulders have been tried
In many a burning trial! Not the hate
Of Hera, not Eurystheus, ever laid
Aught on me like to this, her gift, the gift
Of Oeneus' daughter, falsely beautiful,

These are the last lines of the *Samson Agonistes*:—

All is best, though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.
Oft He seems to hide His face,
But unexpectedly returns,
And to His faithful champion hath in place
Bore witness gloriously; whence Gaza mourns,
And all that band them to resist
His uncontrollable intent;
His servants He, with new acquist
Of true experience, from this great event
With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,
And calm of mind, all passion spent.

and these the last lines of the *Trachiniae*:—

Who shall look into the future?
But these things are anguish for us
And shame for the Gods;

. . . .

And these things are Zeus' alone.

The task of Samson descended to Samuel; and it may well be that, as Manoah forebodes, the grave of Samson among his native hills,

---

This garment of the Furies on my back,
This clinging woven snare in which I die.

. . . .

Again that scorching dart of deadly pain
Shoots through my sides—the evil-eating pest
Gives me no space from torment. Oh, receive me,
Ruler of darkness—strike me, flash of Zeus!
O king, send down thy thunders! O father, hurl
Thy thunderbolt upon me! Again, again
It gnaws me, it has blazed into new fire!
Ah hands, ah shoulders, breast, ah trusty arms,
Yes ye, ye in this plight, are they who quelled
The habitant of Nemea; the shepherds' scourge,
The lion, before whose face no man might come
And Lerna's hydra and the Centaur host
Separate from men, fierce, lawless, great in strength,
And the Erymanthian beast, and the hound of hell
Three-headed, an appalling enemy,
Born of Echidna, and the serpent-guard
Of golden apples in Earth's utmost clime,
And of trials ten thousand other I had taste,
And no man took a trophy from my hand.
So now—joint loosed from joint—flesh rent to shreds-
I perish by this blind pest! I—I, the son
Vaunted of royal mother—I proclaimed
The son of Zeus, whose throne is in the stars!

between Zorah and Eshtaol, was long visited by the men of his tribe and people with the remembrance only of a triumph—of a victory which his successors had perpetuated, the continuous victory of Jehovah over Dagon. But it was with another feeling that the Greeks of a later age saw the mountain, consecrated by tradition, which looked on the Malian Gulf—the mountain which had witnessed the fiery apotheosis of Herakles :—

> Where the great warrior, wrapt in heav'nly flame,
> High above Oeta's steep,
> Was taken, a god, unto Gods.

This was no link in a chain of unbroken victories, no incidental assertion of a good power ever triumphant over evil ; it was, for them, a lonely instance of superhuman strength towering above the rugged, low range of human history, and confronting, though not vanquishing, except by the death which led to immortality, the awful malignity of fate.

The *Samson Agonistes* is a great poem ; it is also a noble drama, though its rank as a poem is far higher than its rank as a drama. But neither as poem nor as drama is it Hellenic. Its sorrow is the sorrow of Jeremiah ; its joy is that which inspires the songs of Miriam and of Deborah.[1]

[1] 'Hear, O ye kings ; give ear, O ye princes ; I, even I, will sing praise to the Lord God of Israel Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water. The mountains melted from before the Lord, even that Sinai from before the Lord God of Israel.'

MILTON AND MUSIC

By Sir FREDERICK BRIDGE

(*On the Eve of the Milton Tercentenary, December* 8, 1908.)

IN accepting the kind invitation to speak on some aspect of Milton in connexion with music, I have thought it would be well within my own powers, and I hope not uninteresting to this distinguished audience, if I ventured to confine most of my remarks to a consideration of the opportunities for music which Milton has afforded in his beautiful Masque of *Comus*. I have for a long time been desirous of putting this *Comus* music before the world in a correct form—and this has never before been done—so I welcome this opportunity.

And as it is to a musician, Henry Lawes, that we most probably owe the suggestion of *Comus*—as we certainly owe to him its first publication—I venture to hope you will think I have chosen an appropriate subject.

We know, of course, Milton's appreciation of our splendid cathedral music, at least in his early days. His tribute to 'the pealing organ' and 'the full-voiced choir' is known to you all. But possibly you do not know how careful he was in this Masque to afford opportunities for the musician.

But before treating of *Comus* may I venture to say a few words on the musical training of the poet? This came through his father, who is proved by his compositions to have been an admirable musician. It is suggested that he may have been a chorister in Christ Church, Oxford, and there have acquired his Latin for his scrivenership and his music. Coming to London, we are told, he had an organ and other instruments in his house, and to the practice of music he devoted his leisure. Masson says 'his special faculty was music', and it is possible on his first coming to London he had taught or practised music professionally.

Six years after his settlement in London we find his name as one of the contributors to *The Triumphs of Oriana*, a collection of madrigals written in honour of Queen Elizabeth, and printed in 1601. Here we find his name alongside such honoured names as Orlando Gibbons, Wilbye, and other 'famous artists', as the editor styles them; and his madrigal is, I think, equal to most of those given in this great collection. There are six anthems by the elder Milton in the British

Museum, and one in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, besides other compositions.

He contributed to other musical works in 1614, and again in 1621; and all this shows he was in the musical world of London, and his house was probably the resort of many of the best musicians of his time.

He is said to have instructed his distinguished son in music, and to have made him a skilful organist. When residing at Horton, in Buckinghamshire (1632–1635), Milton (the poet) frequently visited London to take lessons in music and mathematics. These music lessons were most probably given by Henry Lawes, who was noted as a master; but the earlier musical taste of our poet was no doubt guided by his father.

I have thought you would be interested to hear this fine madrigal by the elder Milton, and I will therefore make it the first musical illustration of to-night. It is the composition of a skilful contrapuntist —it has points of 'imitation' cleverly introduced, and as regards pleasant melody it is much more attractive than many of its companions in the collection. No doubt Milton often heard it sung when a boy. Perhaps I may venture to call attention to two lines of the words, which to me seem a little to suggest two lines that we find in Sabrina's beautiful song, 'By the rushy-fringed bank.' In the madrigal we find—

> With velvet steps on ground,
> Which made nor print nor sound;

and in the *Comus* song we find—

> Thus I set my printless feet
> O'er the cowslip's velvet head.

As the father was so gifted the love of music was very natural in the son. That Milton loved music, and thought it should have a high place in education, we learn from his 'Scheme of an improved education for boys', published in 1644. 'The interests of their more severe lessons,' he said, 'might both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their troubled spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music . . . which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have great power over dispositions and manners to smooth and make them gentle.'

We have seen that he journeyed to London to take lessons, and it is to Henry Lawes, who most probably taught him, that I must now turn for a moment.

Henry Lawes was one of three brothers distinguished in music. Henry and William were members of the Chapel Royal, and William seems also to have been a member of the choir of the Abbey, as also

was the other brother, John. I cannot find any certain proof that Henry was a member of our choir.

Lawes was a pupil of a musician who had studied in Italy, and who, having gone out as plain John Cooper, returned to his native country as Signor Giovanni Coperario. Lawes probably owed his tendency to write dramatic music rather than English Church music to this 'Italian' influence.

His connexion with *Comus* is well known, but the matter is so well told by Mr. Barclay Squire in his introduction to my edition of the music that I will venture to quote from it.

Milton and Lawes had already collaborated in a small Masque—that of *Arcades*, in which the Bridgewater children had acted. It was, therefore, natural he should be asked to arrange for the Masque at Ludlow, and no doubt he suggested that Milton should again provide a libretto.

There is a legend that an adventure which happened to Lord Bridgewater's children, who on a journey were benighted in a forest, and the Lady Alice for a time lost, suggested the subject of the Masque. There may be some foundation for this, but it is true that we find the principal incidents of the Masque in the *Old Wives' Tales* (1595) of George Peele, the Elizabethan poet.

There is in this play the sister lost in a wood, entrapped by a magician, and rescued by her brothers, all of which incidents are, of course, to be found in Milton's *Comus*.

You shall now hear the incidental music to *Comus* which Henry Lawes wrote for its first performance, together with other selections by William Lawes and contemporary composers, which I have suggested for the points in the Masque where music is desired.

Much as Milton wrote afterwards, he never wrote anything more beautiful or more perfect than *Comus*.

The Vocal Illustrations to Sir F. Bridge's Address were rendered by Members of the Choir of Westminster Abbey, the Instrumental Music by the Grimston Quartet.

TERCENTENARY OF MILTON'S BIRTH

LINES

By GEORGE MEREDITH, O.M.

Written in honour of the occasion:
Read at the Inaugural Meeting at the Theatre, Burlington Gardens
Tuesday, December 8, 1908
(*the Eve of the Tercentenary*).

MILTON

December 9, 1608: December 9, 1908

WHAT splendour of imperial station man,
The Tree of Life, may reach when, rooted fast,
His branching stem points way to upper air
And skyward still aspires, we see in him
Who sang for us the Archangelical host
Made Morning by old Darkness urged to the abyss;
A voice that down three centuries onward rolls;
Onward will roll while lives our English tongue,
In the devout of music unsurpassed
Since Piety won Heaven's ear on Israel's harp.

The face of Earth, the soul of Earth, her charm,
Her dread austerity; the quavering fate
Of mortals with blind hope by passion swayed,
His mind embraced, the while on trodden soil,
Defender of the Commonwealth, he joined
Our temporal fray, whereof is vital fruit,
And choosing armoury of the Scholar, stood
Beside his peers to raise the voice for Freedom:
Nor has fair Liberty a champion armed
To meet on heights or plains the Sophister
Throughout the ages, equal to this man,
Whose spirit breathed high Heaven, and drew thence
The ethereal sword to smite.

Were England sunk
Beneath the shifting tides, her heart, her brain,
The smile she wears, the faith she holds, her best,
Would live full-toned in the grand delivery
Of his cathedral speech: an utterance
Almost divine, and such as Hellespont,

Crashing its breakers under Ida's frown,
Inspired: yet worthier he, whose instrument
Was by comparison the coarse reed-pipe;
Whereof have come the marvellous harmonies,
Which, with his lofty theme, of infinite range,
Abash, entrance, exalt.

We need him now,
This latest Age in repetition cries:
For Belial, the adroit, is in our midst;
Mammon, more swoln to squeeze the slavish sweat
From hopeless toil: and overshadowingly
(Aggrandized, monstrous in his grinning mask
Of hypocritical Peace,) inveterate Moloch
Remains the great example.

Homage to him
His debtor band, innumerable as waves
Running all golden from an eastern sun,
Joyfully render, in deep reverence
Subscribe, and as they speak their Milton's name,
Rays of his glory on their foreheads bear.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

OBITUARY NOTICES

GEORGE JOACHIM
FIRST VISCOUNT GOSCHEN
1831—1907

It would be idle to attempt, in these few pages, to give a full account of the life of a man who played so large a part in the political history of his country as the late Lord Goschen. For nearly forty years he was one of the leading statesmen of the United Kingdom. A complete biography of him is being written by a distinguished man of letters, and will no doubt supply an adequate and authoritative record of his public career. It may be more appropriate on this occasion, and it is certainly more within the compass of my powers, to give some account of him as a man, for during many years I enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. It was, I think, soon after his return from Constantinople in 1881 that I first began to "devil" for him, partly in his literary and partly in his political work. I was then still dividing most of my time between law and journalism, but Mr. Goschen's work became more and more absorbing, and I finally devoted myself wholly to it. When he once more took office in 1887 as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he brought me with him into the Treasury as his official Private Secretary, and in that capacity I spent three most interesting and instructive years, nearly worked to death at times, but always delighting in the work, and devoted to my chief. At the end of that period I accepted a financial appointment in Egypt, and our official relations ceased. Not so the private friendship which had sprung up between us and which grew ever more and more intimate till his death. It is from that point of view that I shall speak of him in these pages.

His family history is interesting, and throws much light upon his character. And there is no impropriety in referring to it, as he himself wrote the life of his grandfather, that first George Joachim Goschen, who was the publisher of Schiller and Goethe, and many other eminent German writers, and an intimate friend of the first-named poet. George Joachim, the publisher, was himself a man of considerable attainments, and, though shrewd in business, was ready to make sacrifices for scholarship and for the maintenance of a high standard of literary production. But he lived in troublous times. The business he had built up by years of labour was ruined by the great Continental wars of the beginning of the last century, and when his son William Henry, the

father of the late Lord Goschen, came to reside in England, where he ultimately settled for good, he had little to rely upon but his own ability and his first-rate German education. A man of artistic temperament and reserved disposition, he nevertheless succeeded, by sheer business capacity and force of character, in forging his way into the front rank of London merchants. When the late Lord Goschen, who was his eldest son, began his active life, the house of Fruhling and Goschen, merchant-bankers, was already one of the leading firms in the City. Unlike his father and grandfather, therefore, Lord Goschen had no uphill struggle in his early life. He took his place as quite a young man among the leaders of the financial community. But his character presented the same combination of intellectual refinement and a certain idealism with strong business capacity which had distinguished both his immediate ancestors. What struck one most about him, as compared with other financiers, his equals in mere business acumen, was his intellectual interest in financial problems, in the science of business. Distinguished as a scholar at Rugby and Oriel, where he was one of a brilliant group of undergraduates in the best days of that college, he carried the scholarly temper, united to great practical shrewdness, into the counting-house, as at a later stage into the Cabinet. His industry was colossal, and the form it took was a determination to get to the bottom of everything, to know the why and the wherefore while others were satisfied with mere empirical familiarity with results. Criticism and analysis, sometimes carried to excess, were a delight to him. As a practical administrator he occasionally erred by taking too little for granted and by exhausting himself over the study of details. But his thoroughness and lucidity made him unequalled as an exponent of financial problems. His "Theory of Foreign Exchanges" and some of his earlier financial essays, such as "Seven per cent." and "Two per cent.", are perfect models in this respect, searching in analysis, luminous in exposition, and intensely interesting. His literary skill is here seen at its best.

With such a start in life and such gifts it is not surprising that Goschen rapidly attained an almost unique reputation among the bankers and merchants of London. When only thirty-two he was returned at a by-election as member for the City in the Liberal interest. Three years later he withdrew from business and devoted the rest of his life exclusively to public affairs. Though possessed of ample means he had not had time to make a great fortune, and to many men the early abandonment of a career which promised wealth "beyond the dreams of avarice" would have appeared an immense sacrifice; but I doubt whether he ever hesitated about his choice. With

all his inherited aptitude for business, and his interest in financial questions, I think few men cared less about money-making for its own sake. On the other hand, he did care intensely about great affairs of state. And his rise in politics was almost as phenomenal as had been his rise in the world of business. Within three years of his election to the House of Commons he became a member of the Cabinet (1866), the short-lived Cabinet of Lord John Russell. Then, after two years of opposition, he again became a member, and a leading member, of Mr. Gladstone's great Ministry (1868–1874), first as President of the Poor Law Board and then as First Lord of the Admiralty. But this was his last experience of Liberal Ministries. During the six succeeding years of Conservative Government, his growing distrust of Radicalism, and especially his dislike of Radical tendencies in Foreign affairs, drew him more and more away from his old political associates. And although on Mr. Gladstone's accession to power in 1880 he accepted the post of Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople, where he displayed diplomatic ability of the first order in the settlement of the Montenegrin and Greek frontier questions, yet, when this duty was discharged and he returned to his place in the House of Commons, he found himself more often a critic than a supporter of his former chief. And with Mr. Gladstone's great *volte face* on the Irish question the slowly widening breach between the two statesmen ended in a complete rupture. Goschen threw himself with fiery energy into the campaign against Gladstone's Home Rule policy and contributed as much as any man to its defeat. And so, when he returned to office in 1887, it was as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Salisbury's Government, a post which he held till the fall of the Ministry in 1892. Three years later Lord Salisbury, being once more Prime Minister, invited him to go back to the Exchequer, but, to the surprise of many people, he preferred his old office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and devoted five strenuous years (1895–1900) to the congenial task of presiding over a great expansion of our naval strength. But a lifetime of exceptionally hard work had now begun to tell its tale. At the General Election of 1900 he decided to withdraw from active political life and, retiring from the Ministry, was raised to the House of Lords as Viscount Goschen. During the remaining years of his life, while retaining his interest in public affairs, and often taking part—always with effect—in the debates of the Upper House, he lived for the most part quietly in the country, and devoted himself with zest to literary pursuits. It was now that he finished the biography of his grandfather, on which he had been engaged for many years, but with constant interruptions due to the urgent claims of public affairs. He

also edited some of his numerous earlier essays and addresses, and was busily engaged in writing his memoirs, when at the age of seventy-five, still to all appearance in good health for a man of his years, and certainly in undiminished intellectual vigour, he died suddenly of heart failure in February, 1907.

Perhaps no statesman of his time was less accurately appraised by the public. No doubt he commanded very deep and general respect—even among his opponents. It would have been difficult to withhold it from a man who combined such great intellectual gifts with singular rectitude and fidelity to principle. But, many and varied as were his public activities, the "man in the street" continued to think of him almost exclusively as a financier. As a matter of fact his real claim to eminence in that capacity rests rather upon his earlier business career and his admirable financial writings than on his five years of office at the Treasury. No doubt he was a most competent and conscientious Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his tenure of that post was marked by one considerable achievement, the Conversion of the Debt in 1888. But in the main the years 1887–1892 are not specially important in the history of national Finance. Goschen was, indeed, a perfect master of his business, and his thoroughness and caution present an almost ludicrous contrast to the slap-dash methods of at least one of his successors. But the time was not favourable, nor was his own disposition, perhaps, very prone, to a policy of innovation. The calm courage and tenacity, which were quite as strong elements in his character as were his caution and his critical temper, showed to greater advantage in other passages of his public life. Financial prudence, though he had it, was not his dominant quality. The strongest fibre in him was his ardent, unquenchable, almost boyish, patriotism. The public questions which always most attracted him were those directly affecting the strength, the honour, and the prestige of the Empire among the nations of the world. With his wide culture and considerable acquaintance with foreign languages and habits of thought, he was a close observer, and an admirable judge, of the vicissitudes of international politics. And he felt most keenly anything that seemed to him to affect unfavourably the international reputation and influence of his own country. Of all the high offices which he held the position he liked best was that of First Lord of the Admiralty, to which, as already stated, he returned of his own choice towards the close of his official career. For, with his intimate acquaintance with foreign politics, he realized intensely what was involved in the strength of the British Navy, and he had besides a genuine sympathy and admiration for the fighting services. When in 1871, while still young as a

Cabinet Minister, he was transferred to the Admiralty, journalistic critics made some fun of the apparently unsuitable appointment. And it may be admitted that Mr. Gladstone, in appointing him, perhaps thought more of his ability as a financial expert to control estimates, than of his zeal as a patriot for the supremacy of the British Navy. But, whatever the reason of his nomination, it was amply justified by the results.

A few words, in conclusion, about some more intimate aspects of his many-sided character. While enjoying great and general respect Goschen never became widely popular. Not only was he wholly devoid of the arts of self-advertisement and pose, but he lacked many of the qualities which readily impress the multitude. As a speaker, especially, he had much to contend against. He was extremely short-sighted; though otherwise a strong man, he suffered from an affection of the throat which often made him husky; and he had none of the actor's skill either in elocution or gesture. Such being the case, the extraordinary effectiveness of some of his speeches, when he was thoroughly roused, was a real triumph of intellect and character over physical disadvantages. He was always at his best on great occasions, and in the heat of a big controversy, at his very best, oddly enough, on the platform, rather than in the House of Commons. At a turbulent meeting he was the despair of hecklers, and some of his most effective epigrams were coined, on the spur of the moment, in answer to truculent interruption. At less exciting times and under less pressure he suffered from a tendency to over-elaboration, and it was then that his lack of oratorical grace told, though the two great qualities which never failed him, his intellectual honesty and his critical acumen, gave a certain distinction even to his least successful efforts.

But if never widely popular, he was, in the best sense of the word, influential. During the last twenty years of his life there was probably no statesman whose opinion carried more weight with educated and public-spirited men, who did not happen to be strong partisans. That kind of influence makes little stir on the surface of events, but it affects the deeper currents of history. And it was such influence that he himself probably most desired. He cared intensely for the good of his country, but he was not, at any rate in his later years, personally ambitious. And he was totally devoid of jealousy, a generous admirer of other men's achievements, and a most loyal colleague.

And so, after all, it matters very little if he was sometimes misjudged by the crowd. But, devoted to him as I was, I still recall with regret, and almost with resentment, how irrational some of those misjudgements were. I remember more than one occasion when self-

important supporters thought he had slighted them, because he simply did not see them. Similarly, the critics of the Press Gallery sometimes described him as "angry" when he was merely hoarse. Indeed, only those who knew him well realized the serenity of his temper, the breadth of his tolerance, or the real generosity of his character. His critical quickness of perception was only equalled by the warmth of his heart. No man who saw so easily through the foibles of his neighbours was ever more kindly in his indulgence to them. A charming host and a delightful companion, full of humour, of anecdote, a lover of innocent gossip, devoted to, and adored by, children, he was at his best in the circle of his intimate friends. If the key-note of his public career was his intense British Patriotism, there was something in his private life which irresistibly recalled his German ancestry—something reminiscent of that older and more attractive Germany—before the era of *Weltpolitik* and "blood and iron"—which is so agreeably portrayed in his most considerable literary work, the biography of his grandfather. The simplicity, the domesticity, the idealism, the combination of "plain living with high thinking", which belonged to the golden age of Weimar—all these appealed strongly to him and were reflected in his own domestic life. Brought up, as he was, in affluence, steeped in all the culture of his time, and taking his place easily and naturally among the leaders of politics and society, he yet remained all his life a man of the most simple tastes and of the most unsophisticated directness of moral judgement. He was the antithesis of all that is designated by the term "decadent", the living embodiment of those plain and manly virtues, which are the preservatives of social health and national vigour.

MILNER.

HENRY FRANCIS PELHAM

1846—1907

HENRY FRANCIS PELHAM sprang from a family which has been often and honourably represented in English public life during several centuries. His grandfather—to go no further back—was the second Earl of Chichester, colleague of Pitt and Addington. His father was Bishop of Norwich from 1857 to 1893, and a bishop whose practical administrative powers were reckoned high. He himself was born in 1846 at Bergh Apton, in Norfolk, then his father's parish, and was sent in 1860 to Harrow, to pass his school years under the headmastership of Butler, now Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in the house of Westcott, afterwards Bishop of Durham. As a schoolboy, he was both like and unlike his later self. His intellectual ability was already apparent: he moved up the school with great rapidity, and if his work was rated by his teachers as sound rather than brilliant, their judgement was no doubt due to his preference, even as a boy, for history and literature rather than for the more fashionable composition and grammar. But he was also noted as quiet and reserved, less vivacious than the ordinary boy, and seeming somewhat delicate in health.

The man appeared more fully when he came up to Trinity College, Oxford, in 1865, as an Open Classical Scholar. At Trinity he took the lead alike in intellectual and in social life: he was prominent in the Schools, in the Claret Club, in athletics—and was in particular, like many men of his generation, a fine walker. At the end of his undergraduate career he won an open Fellowship at Exeter College, and began work there as Tutor and teacher of ancient history. Although he married within four years, in 1873, and thereafter ceased to reside in college, the senior common-room at Exeter set its mark upon him. It was indeed a splendid company of scholars that he met there. Bywater, Boase, Tozer, Ramsay, Ray Lankester, Sanday, were all, at one time or another, his colleagues, and with Bywater his

connexion was especially close. Here he learnt the meaning of 'scholarship' in its full sense, and the true standard at which the 'scholar' must aim. Here he came in touch with the activities and advances of contemporary students abroad. Here, thirdly, he was helped to a full understanding of the objects and ideals proper to a University as a home of knowledge and scientific inquiry.

Under these influences he began shortly to take rank as an independent student and teacher. He published occasional articles on Roman History: in particular, he contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in 1886, a long monograph on that subject, which was at once recognized as a masterly and original work. He lectured regularly on ancient history in Exeter College Hall, and soon attracted large audiences from all over the University. He was, indeed, one of the first of those inter-collegiate lecturers whose hearers are so many, and whose discourses are so authoritative, that they rank in all but official title with the University Professors. Naturally enough, as soon as an opportunity occurred, he was appointed University Reader in Ancient History (1887); and when Canon Rawlinson, in 1889, closed an undistinguished tenure of the Camden Professorship of Ancient History, Pelham was at once and with general approval elected to the vacant Chair. This post he held till his death on February 12, 1907.

His professional activities were many—writing, teaching, organizing. His writing perhaps was the least important of the three. He possessed, I do not doubt, the capacity for original research, and such research as he attempted reached a high level of success. Besides his *Outlines of Roman History*, expanded from the *Encyclopaedia* monograph above mentioned, he issued many valuable papers on Roman history. About 1887 he commenced a large and detailed *History of the Roman Empire*, and actually wrote two or three chapters dealing with the earlier years of Augustus (34–15 B.C.). He left at his death enough finished work—some of it published, some left in a printable state—to form an octavo volume of collected papers, which the Clarendon Press will shortly issue. Most of this volume was written before 1890, but it possesses, I think, a real value for students of Roman history, and it justifies the opinion that Pelham both could do and did fine original work.

But two very different causes limited his productiveness. About 1890 a cataract began to cloud his eyes, and though an operation subsequently restored most of his eyesight, serious and intricate bookwork had to be laid aside. Above all, the exceptionally difficult task of describing the Roman Empire in full and in detail had practically to be abandoned. Pelham never indeed gave up the hope

that each year would see him continuing it, and he even spoke occasionally of the approach of proof sheets, but it was the language of persistent hope alone, and he does not appear to have actually worked at the project after about 1890. Cataract was not, however, the only cause which limited his research. If I judge him aright, he was not so much a discoverer of new facts as an organizer and administrator. That is apparent even in his written work, which—however high its value as original research—is even more valuable as an organized presentment of facts new and old alike. It is a natural consequence that we shall expect to find him doing singularly able work as a teacher and as an organizer.

As a teacher, he held for many years an almost unique position, drawing as Professor even larger audiences than he had attracted to Exeter College Hall as Tutor. He was, indeed, an admirable lecturer to University students. He united an excellent, if severe, style, a diction both simple and apt, a direct, logical arrangement, and a selection of material suited to his hearers. Neither the colloquial nor the sentimental nor the rhetorical found place here: these lectures commanded attention by an imperious, passionless logic which in its own way was genius. Men did not always find them interesting. But they listened none the less, and if they utilized the element of dictation which was present in these, as in most, University lectures, to take his sentences down verbally and repeat them, more correctly than wisely, in the examination room, that is a very small part of the results of Pelham's teaching.

It was a great service to Roman studies in England that Pelham was so fine a teacher. For the time was critical. When he was undergraduate and Tutor, Roman history was being revolutionized by Mommsen. It was Pelham, though not Pelham alone, who recognized the force and value of the 'new learning' and introduced it into Oxford. We owe to him and to one or two of his colleagues, notably to the present Master (then Tutor) of Balliol and to Mr. Warde Fowler, the diffusion of this better understanding and this more accurate and intelligent study of Roman history throughout this country. Nor is that a mere service to Roman studies. The history of Rome is of peculiar interest to the citizens of the British Empire, and they who would realize the meaning and conditions of imperial rule will find no more fruitful comparisons and contrasts than those which can be drawn between Rome and England.

Pelham did not only teach. He also endeavoured to develop and organize. He widened Roman History, at least in Oxford, by introducing Geography and Archaeology. He helped to found the Oxford

School of Geography; he helped to expand the archaeological museum which had existed in Oxford, in one form or another, almost as long as the Camden Professorship itself. He organized, by promoting or assisting, reforms which opened various Oxford scholarships, hitherto the prey of chance undergraduate effort, to students seriously engaged in advanced historical or archaeological studies. He helped, again, to found the British School at Athens, and he may be called the sole founder of its successor, the British School at Rome, which through his efforts was opened in 1901, and has since done much to aid young English archaeologists, architects, archivists, studying in Rome and Italy. He felt, I think, that the institution outlives the individual, and that it was not enough to open his rooms and devote his time and sympathy to the chance students who came to seek his help. That help he rendered freely, and many in England remember it gratefully to-day. It is well to remember also that his outlook went beyond such casual and accidental services to learning.

The whole picture is that of a man who combined both the capacity for learned work and the capacity for practical administration and organization, and whose instinct and preference favoured the exercise of the latter faculty. This gave Pelham his special value for the world of his own day. In general, we have to choose between scholars who are unpractical and practical men who entirely fail to understand the value or the needs of learning. In Pelham scholarship and practical power met. A scholar, he well understood what was needed to further the advance of knowledge. An administrator, he knew how to aid that advance and could make others recognize what he himself saw clearly. It was his peculiar characteristic that whereas most administrators care for practical affairs, such as political or municipal life, he cared, and cared effectively, for the administration of learning. Naturally, he was little known abroad. He had personal friends in Rome, but in France and Germany he enjoyed less than his due reputation, and to Mommsen and his pupils he was little more than a name. His work was done for Oxford: there his name will live.

It follows that such a man was not merely historian: he was not even primarily a learned man. His practical administrative ability found exercise in many branches of Oxford life, and indeed outside Oxford. He served the University on many committees and boards—he was long a member of the Hebdomadal Council, and though he retired from this in 1905, he was still, at the time of his death in 1907, concerned in the governance of the Bodleian Library, the Ashmolean Museum, the Common University Fund, and the University Parks,

and was a pro-Vice-Chancellor. In 1897 he accepted the Presidency of his old College, Trinity, and carried on till his death the many and diverse duties of the Head of an Oxford College. He also took part from the first in the development of women's education in Oxford and in particular grudged no time in the cause of Somerville College, where for many years he presided over the Council. He was, further, an active and attentive Governor of his old school, Harrow, and of one or two other places of education. In all this practical work he was unfailingly successful. He was a singularly competent member of University committees, an excellent President of Trinity, an invaluable adviser to Somerville and to Harrow. But the special and unusual feature in his success came, I think, from his combination of learning and practical power, his capacity alike for giving practical shape to learned counsels and for shaping practical arrangements to fit the true needs of learning.

It was said by one who regretted the unfinished *History of the Empire* that administrative work had absorbed the faculties and the time that should have been given to history. It is of course a common experience that the young researcher grows into an old administrator, passing from theoretical to practical interests. That was not quite the case with Pelham. The same two causes which I have pointed out as hindering the continuation of the *History* were effective in all branches of his activity. The man was indeed consistent throughout. Had his eyesight permitted, he would no doubt have done more research and less administration. But alike in his intellectual and his practical work he would have remained what he actually was, an administrator in the region of learning. The central element in him was a direct and powerful common-sense, vigorous alike in its manliness and its intellectual force. He was the same in daily routine, in teaching, in research, in society. In every problem he chose with unerring judgement the principal factor: he moved directly on that point: he grouped round it in logical subordination all pertinent details and set forth an ordered whole in plain, forcible, unadorned language. His directness showed, now and again, a touch —intelligible enough—of aristocratic impatience: he was not always tolerant of opposition; he sometimes let himself overrate or overstate his own case. But his clear vision showed him in actual work both what was desirable and what was attainable, and if he was sometimes intolerant, he was often conciliatory. For to his austere directness he added qualities more often found in other alliance, warm and ready sympathy, a genial sense of human life and feeling, a quick perception of its humorous side, an unselfish readiness to

help and welcome all around him. In the British Academy he claimed his seat by right of services to learning and it is as a scholar's that his life finds its place in the Academy's Proceedings. But it is right in concluding the brief, critical survey of one who cared nothing for uncritical praise, to say one word of the man whose humanity inspired both the scholar and the administrator.

F. J. HAVERFIELD.

*** I shall, I trust, be pardoned if I have included in this notice some phrases or sentences which I have already used elsewhere.

LORD DAVEY

1833—1907

HORACE DAVEY was born in 1833, and was educated at Rugby and at University College, Oxford. His University career was one of remarkable distinction. He was a Scholar and afterwards a Fellow of his College. He took a double first (classics and mathematics) both in Moderations and in the Final Schools. He obtained the two scholarships which are given by the University for mathematics, and this long series of University honours was recognized and crowned by his election to the Eldon Law Scholarship.

His professional success was equally conspicuous. He entered the society of Lincoln's Inn, became the favourite pupil of the eminent Chancery lawyer John Wickens, was called to the Bar in 1861, took a large share of his former master's work, and, when Wickens was raised to the Bench in 1871, his mantle naturally fell upon Davey. Business as a junior increased so rapidly that in 1875, in spite of diffidence shared by none of those who knew him, he was compelled to take silk, and justified the general expectations of the profession by rising at once to the first rank as Queen's Counsel.

A successful lawyer naturally looks to Parliament as opening a wider sphere for his ambition. Davey was elected for Christchurch in the general election of 1880, but lost his seat in 1885, and was not successful in finding another until the end of 1885. From then until July, 1892, he sat for Stockton-on-Tees. He became Solicitor General under Mr. Gladstone's government in 1886, when he was knighted, and again after the general election of 1892, but on each occasion held the office without a seat in Parliament.

In August, 1893, he was made Lord Justice of Appeal in succession to Lord Bowen, and summoned to the Privy Council; and in the following August he succeeded Lord Russell of Killowen as Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, and took his seat, as a life peer, in the House of Lords. In the same year he had been made an honorary D. C. L. by the University of Oxford. As a member of the two highest appellate tribunals of this country, the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, he continued to sit and work actively almost until the day of his death in February, 1907.

It is as a great lawyer that Lord Davey will be remembered—'The

most accomplished lawyer of his day' is the summing-up of his old friend and colleague Lord Macnaghten—and no authority could be higher. Outside the range of his professional and official work he wrote little. His interests were concentrated on legal problems: a busy lawyer has no leisure for literary work, and at all times his frail physique compelled him to husband his resources. But, as chairman of the commission charged with the duty of framing statutes for the reconstituted University of London, he showed himself a strenuous advocate of a more systematic and scientific study of law; his survey, in a contribution to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, of the progress of legal reforms during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century is a masterly piece of historical and critical work; and his interest in the labours of the Society of Comparative Legislation was strong, effective, and abiding.

His qualities were not those which command success at the hustings or in a popular assembly. Nor did his professional work lie within that field of passion and crime which supplies the dramatic element of law and most readily and vividly excites the interests of the public. He was one of the most persuasive of advocates; but it was to the brain, not to the feelings, that his advocacy was addressed. It was in the loftiest and most abstract regions of the law, on its empyrean heights, that he moved with the greatest freedom and found himself most at home. Here his keen, subtle, analytical intellect threw a piercing white light on the problem before it, marshalled the relevant facts in their logical order, disentangled from facts the principles which underlay them, stated the principles with mathematical precision, and deduced from them the inevitable conclusions.

Of the great judgements enshrined in the volumes of the *Law Reports* some, and not the least, have strongly imprinted on them the traits of a distinct personality. That is not the note of Davey's judgements. Rather they seem to be the application of pure impersonal reason to the solution of scientific problems. It was with the scientific aspect of law that he was chiefly concerned. Indeed it was to this that he gave his wholehearted devotion, it was this that he represented more fully than any of his legal contemporaries. And for this reason no one was better fitted to represent the legal profession in a society of which the object is the pursuit of truth by scientific methods.

C. P. ILBERT.

SIR SPENCER WALPOLE

1839–1907

Sir Spencer Walpole's death in 1907 left a gap in the front rank of contemporary English Historians. To a volume of his collected Essays, published in the following year, his daughter, Mrs. F. Holland, prefixed an admirable memoir of his private life and character, with affectionate reminiscences of her father's 'strenuous work, his universal kindliness, and his simplicity of soul'. On this personal subject, therefore, little or nothing remains to be said. I will only add that during several years of intimacy with him I had every reason to feel honoured by his friendship, to set high value on his literary judgements, and to appreciate his scrupulous intellectual integrity.

From that memoir I take the main incidents that belong to Sir Spencer Walpole's personal biography. After leaving Eton he entered the Civil Service at an early age, and worked for some time in the War Office, until he was transferred to a position of larger independence. He was subsequently appointed to the Governorship of the Isle of Man, where he remained for about twelve years; and afterwards he became Secretary to the Post Office until his retirement in 1899. In the discharge of the duties of these offices he was indefatigable; his services were fully approved by all with whom he came into public relations; yet throughout these years he found time for hard and unceasing literary work. In his earlier days he was a regular contributor to the periodical press, mainly on questions of finance; he wrote the lives of two Prime Ministers—his grandfather Spencer Perceval and Lord John Russell—while from 1876 up to the year of his death he was engaged upon his *History of England.* Five volumes were published, at intervals, on the period between 1815 and 1857; and four subsequent volumes, under the title of the *History of Twenty-five Years,* brought the whole narrative up to 1880. But the proofs of the two final volumes had not been revised by his hand, when he was struck down by a sudden and fatal malady of the brain. Other recent publications were a small book on the Isle of Man, entitled the *Land of Home Rule; Studies in Biography*; and the collection of Essays to which I have already referred.

It is upon this History of England from 1815 to 1880 that Sir Spencer Walpole's lasting reputation, as a man of letters, will rest. To have combined the writing of such a book with the duties of a very diligent official is no slight achievement; though one may observe that direct contact with administration, with political affairs, and with parliamentary leaders, is for the historian a distinct advantage. It is worth remarking that his family connexions, which brought Walpole into the Civil Service, in no way biased his judgement on public questions. The grandson of a high Tory Prime Minister, the son of a Conservative Secretary of State, he was throughout his life an advanced Liberal, with an unswerving trust in popular government as essential to the welfare of his country and to the just and proper management of its affairs at home and abroad. His literary bent was evidently taken from hereditary association with politics, and from his own official training. As an historian he enters with intense interest into the strife of parties, the parliamentary vicissitudes, into the swing backward and forward of reform and reaction, into the exact causes and incidents that affected the rise and the fall of ministries. In describing the state of manners at certain periods, and the changes wrought in the national life by the efforts of philosophic writers and philanthropists, his facts and figures are always ample and accurate; he pays close attention to financial and economical movements. As a politician he distrusted the spirited policy that involved England in the warlike adventures and hazards of an eventful and stirring time. The Afghan war of 1838–43 was, he said, the most ruinous and unnecessary war which the English had ever waged. The Crimean war he evidently regarded as a useless expenditure of blood and money, which might well have been avoided. On Lord Beaconsfield's Imperialism he passes severe censure: and the interference of that statesman in 1877 to protect the Turkish Sultan against Russia is very sharply condemned. He has even some doubt whether the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares was a wise stroke of policy. This book, in short, is a corroboration of the well-known remark that the history of our country has been mainly written by Whigs and Liberals, with the exception of a few authors who, like Hume and Alison, have hardly preserved an historic reputation. Nevertheless, whether we agree or not with the prudent and pacific views towards which Walpole manifestly leaned, his narrative, his statements of disputable cases, his distribution of the arguments for and against his conclusions, are invariably accurate, fair, and dispassionate. His anxiety to give full authority for facts and opinions is shown in

an almost too copious supply of foot-notes. Lord Acton, who found the late Bishop Creighton too economical of these citations, compares his practice to Mr. Walpole's if several hundred references to Hansard and the Annual Register had been struck out from the History of England.

In his preface to the first volume the author explains briefly the method that he has adopted. History, he says, may be written in two ways—you may relate each event in chronological order, or you may deal with each subject in a separate episode—and he tells us that he has chosen the latter way. This method enabled him to introduce sketches of the state of English society at different periods, by way of illustrating his narrative, which are certainly attractive and impressive. They are composed to a large degree upon the model set by Macaulay, by grouping together a number of characteristic particulars to bring out into strong relief the morals and manners of the time. Walpole's picture of the Eton boy in the early nineteenth century, who could write admirable Greek and Latin verse but knew not a word of any modern language—'who regarded the Gracchi as patriots but had only an obscure notion that Adam Smith was a dangerous character'—is almost a parody of Macaulay's style. Nevertheless these sketches are on the whole truthful and instructive, if we allow for some exuberance of colouring that may have been thought necessary for artistic effect.

But Walpole studied literature, as the measure of intellectual evolution, with the same interest that he devoted to economical and administrative developments. His aim was to show how all kinds of mental and material activity acted and reacted upon each other, how the feelings and aspirations of the nation were reflected in philosophy and in poetry, and how literary genius could stir the imagination of the people. He observes that while English literature had declined towards the close of the eighteenth century, it rose again rapidly with the opening of the nineteenth century. For a short time, indeed, the furious outbreak of the French revolution had scared men of letters into recoil from the optimistic speculations of the preceding age—they abandoned the worship of Liberty. But the storm blew over; and a general revival of literary animation signalized the end of the long war-time, with a magnificent efflorescence of poetry. Walpole records, as notable signs of this intellectual expansion, the appearance of women in the field of literature, the immediate success of the two famous reviews, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, and the rapid growth of journalism. The whole subject of mental progress has, indeed, a peculiar charm for him. He insists that 'the history of human thought is the most

comprehensive and the most difficult subject which can occupy the student's attention, far more interesting and important than the progress of society'. He would probably have agreed with Coleridge that knowledge of current speculative opinions is the surest ground for political prophecy; and he delights in tracing back to distant sources the religious movements of the nineteenth century. He declares that the heroic measures introduced by legislation within our own recollections are the links of a continuous chain extending from a prehistoric past to an invisible future. We have here a writer who in one chapter handles complicated statistics and economical calculations with obvious relish, and turns from them with equal pleasure to abstruse disquisitions on the filiation of ideas and the march of mind.

There are at least two chapters in the History that exemplify the attention given by Walpole to ecclesiastical controversies, and to the significance of the antagonism between the New Learning and dogmatic orthodoxy. In his fourth volume the story of the Oxford Tractarians is related at some length, and he remarks on the singular coincidence, that almost simultaneously with the secession of the English High Churchmen the Free Church was established by disrupture from the established Church in Scotland. He affirms that both these schisms, so different in motive and direction, had their origin in events dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The disintegrating forces of Geology, Astronomy, and scientific research generally upon the received tradition are examined; the beginning of modern Church reform is noted; and in a chapter of the final volume of the *History of Twenty-Five Years* it is maintained that the great question before the religious world in the middle of the nineteenth century was the possibility of resisting the inroads of Science. He describes the vigour with which the polemical campaign was conducted on both sides; how the orthodox position was assailed by writers of the *Essays and Reviews*, by the criticism of Bishop Colenso, by Broad Churchmen and the champions of free thought; how it was defended by prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts and in appeals to the Privy Council from both parties. It was certainly a remarkable epoch in the history of opinions, when the country was agitated by the ardent zeal of disputants over questions of ritual and dogma that now seem to have fallen into cool neglect; and Walpole gives, as usual, a careful array of the particular cases, with the points in debate, and the characteristics of the prominent leaders in each party. To estimate the position of the clergy as a body, and to show, as Walpole undertakes to do, that in the middle of the nineteenth century they were

losing caste as a class, and that between the middle and end of that century they had fallen in social status, was a much more difficult and delicate problem. All generalizations upon the condition of society in times that have passed away, however recently, are of doubtful value, because the evidence of documents must always be incomplete, and even personal recollections are partial and become indistinct; they are all seen in a fading and uncertain light. Moreover the chronicler of disputations over ritual and Articles, and of matters concerning Churches and the clergy, may be said to move over the surface of the spiritual waters; and Walpole draws nearer to the deeper undercurrents when he appeals to the higher literature for signs of alternating tendencies of religious thought in that generation; though the famous stanzas from Tennyson's 'In Memoriam', which he quotes at the end of his chapter, represent rather the poetic than the philosophic conclusions of thinkers in the nineteenth century.

But Walpole was quite aware of the difficulties that beset any writer who endeavours to relate the history of a very recent period, especially of that part to which his own lifetime belongs, and to pass judgements on the conduct or opinions of statesmen and writers who may be still living, or have only lately departed. Yet, as Lord Acton has said, the secrets of our own time cannot be learnt from books, but from men; and Walpole's social relations, his personal popularity, his familiarity with official business, and his literary culture, provided him with valuable opportunities for composing his last four volumes from direct impressions of his subject, for preserving the right atmosphere. His studies in biography show an aptitude for personal delineation; and in one of his earlier volumes there is a full-length portrait of Sir Robert Peel, executed with much skill and comprehension. Therein lay the artistic quality of his work; he aimed at the presentation of individual character and action; he laid stress on the influence of remarkable men on their country's fortunes; for true historical art is concerned with bringing prominent figures into formal relief, and with arranging a mass of disorderly facts under some scheme that produces a definite impression. Otherwise Walpole's style was clear, level, and straightforward; with no pretence to be ornamental. Perhaps the best example of his talent for well-ordered and compact narrative is found in two chapters of the fifth volume of the History, which contain an excellent summary of the rise and expansion of British dominion in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with a very correct appreciation of the causes and circumstances to which that memorable episode in the annals of the British Empire is due.

Walpole lived just long enough to bring his historical work, which occupied him for about thirty years, to the end which he had assigned to it. In traversing such an extensive and varied field of arduous labour some errors and shortcomings were inevitable, for the history of England in the nineteenth century is the history of the British Empire at its climacteric, of moral and material changes and developments more numerous and perhaps more important than in any former century. Nor did he limit his survey to the particular period that he had chosen; for his theory, as he has stated it, of the function of history, was that it shall not merely catalogue events but shall go back to an analysis of their causes, and of the general progress of the human family. He believed, with Lord Acton, that the recent past contained the key to the present time. It has been said that Walpole undertook to do for the nineteenth century what Lecky did for the eighteenth century: and we may agree that both historians have filled up, with distinguished merit and ability, large vacant spaces in the history of our country. Perhaps Lecky had more of the philosophic mind, while the distance of time that lay between that writer and his period enabled him to see men and things in their true proportion, and to judge of events by their outcome. Walpole, on the other hand, wrote under the disadvantages as well as the advantages of close proximity to the scenes which he described; and the conclusion of his history marks the fall of the curtain on a drama of which the final acts are still to be played out.

A. C. LYALL.

EDWARD CAIRD

1835–1908

With the death of Edward Caird there passed away the last, or almost the last (for Dr. Hutchinson Stirling survived him), of the pioneer generation who opened the road for English philosophy to continuity with that of the great masters, both in the modern and in the ancient world. The English mind, indeed, from Locke to Herbert Spencer, had never failed to exercise its influence far beyond these islands; but a time had come when it was feeding on itself, and needed for its reinvigoration to study in a wider school.

Edward Caird was born at Greenock in 1835. Among his brothers was John Caird, who became Principal of Glasgow University, and, sharing in the main his brother Edward's views, exercised conjointly with him an immense influence on the religious life and thought of Scotland.

Edward Caird was educated at the Greenock Grammar School and at the University of Glasgow; whence he passed to Balliol College, Oxford, forming one of the Scottish contingent to whom Balliol owes so much of her character and her distinction. He was elected to a Fellowship at Merton, and after a short time of residence was called (in 1866) to the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, which he held till in 1893 he returned to Balliol as its Head. He retained this position for about fourteen years, though latterly with failing health, but resigned more than a year before his death, which took place on the 1st of November, 1908.

He received the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws from St. Andrews and from Glasgow, that of Doctor of Civil Law from Oxford, and that of Doctor of Letters from Cambridge and from the University of Wales. He was one of the Original Fellows of the British Academy, and a corresponding member of the French Academy.

Some idea of what Caird was to the University in which he was a Professor, and through the University to the Church and people of Scotland, may be gathered from the following note, furnished by an intimate friend of Caird's (the Rev. John Wellwood), a distinguished student under him:

"Apart from his philosophical reputation, or in spite of its decay, the memory of Edward Caird will survive, like that of Dugald Stewart

and Sir William Hamilton, in the tradition of his influence as a teacher of students. There will cling to it also a savour almost of saintliness, for the Christian ideal, which he held to be at one with the deepest truth of philosophy, was fulfilled in his character and actions. Simplicity and tenderness were united in him with great strength of purpose, and his days were passed in the company of the highest minds of all ages, the interpretation of some being his work, as communion with others was his recreation. If he read Kant in the morning, he had his page of Wordsworth or of Dante in the afternoon.

"As a teacher in Glasgow, having under him at least two hundred students, Edward Caird was in his true vocation. He never ceased to congratulate himself on the privilege of being 'brought into contact with many of the ablest young men in the country at a time when their minds were opening to the great interests of literature and science and life'. (Speech on presentation of portrait to Glasgow University, 1887.) His course of lectures embraced the development of thought from the first to the last word of Greek philosophy, through the Middle Ages, and so onward—never a link forgotten—to Descartes, Locke, Hume, and, if time permitted, as far as to the borders of Hegel. As he paced the rostrum, unfolding the ideas of some master, he would challenge, by a look or a smile, this man and that, as if they were bound to be amazed, perplexed, or enchanted. He assumed that his students were eager, like himself, to know the truth, and made them partners with him in the search—in accordance with Goethe's maxim—'If you would raise men to a higher level, treat them as if they had already attained it.' And at moments there seemed to run through the whole class the spirit of good resolution. 'If fortune,' Caird said at the presentation of his portrait to the University, 'if fortune had given me the power of choosing my place and work in life, I do not think I should have chosen any other than that which has fallen to me.' Once in conversation he declared, with his charming smile, that he would not be happy in heaven unless he had students to teach. His thoughts were never far from the concrete human struggle, and his joy in teaching was partly due to the spectacle of 'new reinforcements continually coming to the army of those who are fighting for light against darkness'. 'We,' he said, 'the teachers of a University, of all men in the world, should be the last to despair of human progress.' (Speech referred to above.) He gave up his career as a teacher with a heavy heart. On his appointment to the Mastership of Balliol he confessed (letter to Mr. Wellwood)—'It is a hard thing in many

ways to leave Glasgow, and I may say that nothing would have made me do it, except what has happened—a unanimous call to the College of Jowett and Green.'

"No philosopher in recent times has left behind him so large a school of disciples as Edward Caird. His pupils, all heirs of his thought, are to be found in Chairs of Philosophy in the United States, in the British Colonies, and in most of the new colleges of England and Wales. He has his part also in the reformation of theological belief. In 1866, when he took up his work in Glasgow, the people were still, in large measure, dominated by the ultra-Calvinism that had set in after the Disruption. But the awakening had begun. Macleod, Tulloch, and, above all, John Caird, had, each in his own way, declared war against the traditional creed. If Edward Caird did anything for this movement, it was not by design. He kept to his own sphere, that of contemplation; and he was a great teacher of philosophy just because he left his students to arrive where they pleased—content if he could make them see the organic process of thought in history, and instil into them 'the holy spirit of education'. For him, as for Hegel, Christianity was a revelation of reason. He delighted to show its kinship with Greek Philosophy, and he would smile as he threw a flash of light into the depths of modern Idealism by quoting a text from the New Testament. There were, to be sure, some students, and among them not a few of his ablest, who rejected his doctrines; but many so well learned to think as he taught them that, for the rest of their lives, they could think in no other way. Hundreds of these men passed into the Christian ministry, and it is through them that the influence of Edward Caird has told upon the Churches. They do not recognize the principle of authority. They regard systematic theology as no true science, and put in its place the philosophy of religion. But if their preaching is marked by the absence of dogma, it is no less free from the negations of a shallow enlightenment. Nor is it merely ethical, for every true disciple of Edward Caird affirms the essential ideas of the Christian religion.

"Such is the peculiar part of this famous teacher in the great change that has taken place (not without many struggles and some martyrdom) in theological opinion north of the Tweed—a change inadequately confessed by the Churches in declaratory Acts and the relaxation of Formulas."

In becoming Master of Balliol, though confronted with a type of work in many respects new to him, Caird did not, of course, abandon the function of teaching which lay so near his heart. His

lectures at Oxford were largely attended, and not by undergraduates only. It is said by those best qualified to judge that his coming put new life into the philosophical teaching in the University. He acted as examiner in the Final School of Literae Humaniores, and he took occasion to re-study the treatises of Plato and Aristotle, which are the principal text-books for that school, with results in his published work which we shall see to have been of the highest value. Both the college and the University had profound reason to congratulate themselves on his appointment. Balliol has had at once the wisdom and good fortune to secure in her successive heads men of rare capacity for the post, yet so different from one another that comparison brings no criticism with it.

But this laborious and distinguished professional life of over forty years was only one side of Caird's activity. Punctuating it at almost regular intervals there came a succession of philosophical treatises which by themselves, nay, any one of which by itself, would have sufficed to found a philosopher's reputation.

When Green's method—his way of analysing Hume or Mill or Spencer, instead of propounding a positive doctrine—was criticized in Caird's presence, he observed, with the mingled dignity and gentleness which sat so attractively upon him—"Well, you see, all that was what we had laid upon us to deal with in those days." And so among the writings of each we find just a single work, if we disregard minor though highly pregnant utterances, of which the bulk does not consist in the critical interpretation of other thinkers; an interpretation directed to show that there is a centre of unity to which the mind must come back out of all differences, however varied and alien in appearance. And on the other hand we find in them throughout a peculiar lofty preoccupation or sense of spiritual duty; the mind's eye always fixed upon the system and main outlines of the world, the argument always seeming to reiterate the same fundamental reasonings, which border upon the philosophy of religion. In the writings of thinkers belonging to even a slightly younger generation, writings actually in some cases of the same date with theirs, we cease, on the whole, though not in every instance, to feel this special note of a religious bent and preoccupation. It seems to have become recognized that the pioneers had done their work; that the spell of insularity, of a narrow modernism, had been broken once for all; that the unity of the philosophical spirit in all its phases had been re-established; and that the field was open henceforward for free and various investigation. A comparison of philosophical interest and creativeness throughout the English-speaking world

to-day, with what they were in the same area when Caird and Green began to teach between 1860 and 1870, gives some measure of the intellectual revolution in the early stages of which these men bore a conspicuous part.

This sense of an exalted quest, and this continuous labour and struggle to apprehend things from the centre, was the life and spirit of Caird's philosophical productiveness. In the first instance it took form in the enormous labour of the two great works upon Kant, published in 1878 and 1889 respectively. This Herculean task, we may suppose, was the first duty that he held to be laid upon him by the philosophical conditions of his day. To display, in the very argument of the great metaphysician, who was supposed to have cut the world in two with a hatchet, an almost involuntary but continuous and inevitable "regression" towards objective organic unity, was an enterprise that could not be declined if free expansion was to become possible for modern philosophy. This great achievement placed Caird at once in the first rank of Kantian interpreters. The perseverance, ingenuity, and learning, which he united with an iron grasp of the thread of his argument, made it a work the results of which may enter into unexpected combinations, but which shed a clearness on its whole subject-matter that can hardly cease to be of value. And it was apparently decisive for Caird's own mode of thought. Thenceforward he always couched his main argument in the terms of the Kantian Ideas of Reason, and in his interpretative criticism of other writers perpetually recurred to the proof of their interconnexion; of the unity of the self and the world in the concrete being of God. As the first of the works on Kant closes with the anticipation of the metaphysical result of the second—the establishment of Kant's advance towards an Idealism other than subjectivism —so the second, in its treatment of the Ideas of Reason, gives the framework on which his third principal Treatise was constructed. This was the "Evolution of Religion" (Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews, published 1893). The plan of it had indeed been briefly sketched on one page of a series of articles on the social philosophy of Auguste Comte (1885), which reproduced on a small scale in the case of the French thinker's "Subjective Synthesis", the critical treatment which Caird was then in course of applying to Kant.

The "Evolution of Religion" is the one treatise in which Caird dealt rather with the world at first hand than with the history of Philosophy. It is framed on the scaffolding of the three Ideas of Reason; tracing men's sense of a superior being through three principal phases, determined respectively by the ideas of the object

or world of things, of the subject, or conscious mind, and of the unity which includes them both and is a presupposition of each. The book is probably the best general treatment of religious philosophy in the English language.

And this work again, in its relation to the succeeding one, brings before us the persevering continuity with which the author pursued his lofty quest. For on a page or two of this book is sketched in outline the general view of Theology in Greek Philosophy, destined ten years later to take shape in that elaborate study of Greek Metaphysic which was the end and climax of Caird's literary production, with the title "The Evolution of Theology in Greek Philosophy" (the Gifford Lectures delivered at Glasgow, published 1903). This crowning effort to treat thoroughly, from the standpoint of the metaphysic of religion, and not of mere antiquarian learning, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, was very probably stimulated by Caird's return to Oxford in 1893 and the need of adapting his teaching to the Oxford curriculum. In any case it was a remarkable achievement for a man then over sixty-five to carry through the story of Greek Philosophy from Plato to Plotinus and St. Augustine; considering that this was accomplished with a thoroughness and mastery of detail, a soundness of judgement, and a lucidity of exposition, which make it the best complete textbook on the subject in English or perhaps in any language. In particular, the account of Plato's Forms constitutes a striking advance on the views generally accepted, and gives a quite masterly survey of this exceedingly difficult subject.

When Caird's whole activity is reviewed, it may fairly be said that there is no philosopher of the first rank, ancient or modern, whose ideas he has not subjected to the peculiar analysis involved in his unwearied struggle towards the centre and his war against abstractions. In Hegel, on whom he wrote (1883) the best textbook that could be written in the space, he found the nearest approach which any philosopher had made to the conception which he sought of a fully correlated concrete whole. But it is characteristic of him that not even Hegel furnished what he held to be the highest expression of a unity in which evil and negation are absorbed and overcome. For this he looked rather to the founder of the Christian religion.

So, too, the highest point which Plato touched in his reasonings on immortality seemed to him to be where he came nearest to the language of the New Testament, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." "And perhaps," he added, "this is

the one argument for immortality to which much weight can be attached."

Two minor utterances, in which his philosophical position is seen at its simplest and best, must not be passed over. One is a paper in the *Journal of Theological Studies* on Anselm's argument for the being of God. After a criticism and re-interpretation of the "Ontological Argument", he continues: "I may perhaps be asked whether this is Hegelianism. I would be inclined to answer that to say so would be to give Hegel, or any man, too much credit. It is rather the outcome of the whole idealistic movement of thought, and if it is to be attached to any name at all more than another, it would be to that of Plato." It is an enormous advance, due to the efforts of many students and scholars in the time of which we are speaking, but certainly not least to Caird and Green, that Plato and Aristotle have regained their appropriate place as living forces in the movement of philosophy.

His tendency was rather away from than towards subjectivism, and it is noteworthy that in his last public utterance, the paper on "Idealism and the Theory of Knowledge", delivered before the British Academy on May 14, 1903, he is anxious to point out how the name Idealism is likely to mislead, and to disclaim for the doctrine which he held any antagonism "to the strongest assertion of the reality of the distinction of matter and mind".

Some thirty years ago, when Lewis Nettleship heard some one lamenting the anti-idealistic reaction in Germany, he exclaimed: "What does it matter? Just think what they have gone through." A nation could not lose, he implied, what an arduous philosophical discipline had taught it. A reaction would only be a development. A similar remark could not have been made about the English-speaking world at that time; but it might be made with some truth to-day, and if this is so, it is in a large measure due to Caird, to his unwearied industry, his high loyalty to truth, and his gift of luminous exposition.

Personally he seemed almost a perfect character. Younger men have the most grateful recollection of his readiness to help and to approve, to impart the encouragement which comes from the commendation of a master. His extreme width of sympathy and his gentleness and modesty in personal intercourse might have suggested that he would be wanting in fire and strength and definiteness. But the fact was far otherwise, and the story is at least true to character which ascribes to an Oxford resident, after a public

discussion in which Caird had taken part, the observation, "I saw then that the man could *fight*."

His views were positive, and he held them strongly. He believed in University education and degrees for women. He believed in University education for wage-earners, and gave his moral support to Ruskin College. He lectured on Socialism to an audience, largely Socialist, in the East End of London, and carried his hearers with him, not all in opinion, but all in spirit and sympathy. Social duty to him was an essential expression of the philosophic life.

His career was not prematurely cut short like that of some of the most gifted among recent Oxford thinkers. He served through the long day to its end, which is perhaps the severer test; and he stood it nobly.

BERNARD BOSANQUET.